

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
GERMANY:

BEING  
An Account of all the Emperors from  
*Charlemagne* to the present Time.

CONTAINING  
The ORIGIN of the *German* Empire, the  
Emperor King of the *Romans*, Electors,  
Princes Courts, Imperial Cities, Barons,  
Laws, Diets, Courts, &c.

WITH  
A full and particular Account of the War with  
the *Turks*, *France*, *Spain*, &c.

Also an accurate Account of the famous Battles of  
BLENHEIM, | TUNIS,  
RAMILIES, | OUDENARD,  
MALPLAQUAT, | &c.

With the Succession of the Queen of *Hungary*; and a full  
Account of the Rise and Progress of the present War  
between her and the King of *Prussia*.

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By Mr. JOHN BANKS.

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# P R E F A C E.



I N this present perplexity of the Empire in general, and in particular at this critical conjuncture with regard to the most potent member of it, for some ages past esteemed the first family in Europe; the compiler of the following sheets thought he could not employ his time more acceptably to the public, than in such a work as he has given a pretty full idea of in the title.

The constitution of the Germanic body is so little known, and the accounts of it are so diffused in those authors who treat of it professedly, or so dispersed in the works of many writers who have examined more accurately particular parts of it; that the bringing together, in one short chapter only, enough of this matter to satisfy the generality of readers, will, he presumes, be thought to be the effect of some enquiry and labour, and consequently deserving of a not unfavourable reception.

In the historical part, which makes up the bulk of the book, tho' he has been very brief upon those Emperors who preceded the rise of the Austrian family, yet he hopes to have omitted nothing necessary to be known of those obscure and monkish

ages. And since the election of Albert II, when the Imperial crown, in effect, became hereditary to that house (an event that exactly coincides with the discovery of printing, and the revival of learning and knowledge in the west) he has been careful to join the history of religion with that of the state, and to shew the progress of the reformation, together with the increasing grandure of the Austrian Princes, the great oppugners of it. For this reason the account of diets, conventions, and councils, frequently are blended with those of the cabinet and the field through several reigns, especially from the Emperor Maximilian I, down to the peace of Westphalia, when the rights of both parties were settled upon that footing they have since maintained. From that time therefore, thro' the reigns of Leopold, Joseph, and Charles VI, such a detail of religion was no longer necessary, and our attention is seldom diverted from either wars or politics.

As impartiality is the first necessary acknowledged quality of an historian, to preserve that has been his principal care in relating every occurrence. The authors he has been obliged to make use of, for the most part, were either French or German, in few of whom this quality was to be expected, and in scarce any to be found. Generally also they were Roman Catholics, which gives their reflections, in matters of religion, a bias in favour of the old superstition, that can be agreeable to few English readers. He was obliged to read them therefore with great caution, in both these respects; and, at the same time that he was vigilant



## P R E F A C E.

lant to avoid the being misguided by a false light on the one hand, to be equally guarded against his own prejudices on the other. Upon this principle, on several occasions, he has ventured to blame the late Emperors, as well as the French King; and found another name than that of rebels for the Hungarians, in their generous struggles to support their ancient liberties, civil and religious.

To this let me add, that the continuing down of his history quite to the present time, in the same manner, is an advantage not elsewhere to be found. The *Sieur Heiss*, who was himself partial enough, and wrote only to the end of the reign of *Ferdinand III*, had so perfect a Frenchman for his continuator, that the reigns of *Leopold* and *Joseph* are rather satires on those Princes, than representations of their history. Here the reader will find them drawn as they naturally appear, without disguise or ornament: and the reign of *Charles VI*, which had not before been written at all, that he knows of, at least not in English, is given in the same spirit. In a word, here is a present state of Germany in miniature, and a history of the German Empire that descends forty years lower than *Mr Savage's*, all in one volume, of a moderate bulk and price.

But this is not all. Neither *Mr Savage*, nor any more modern writer on the Germanic constitution, has given us a word of particular geography. This the compiler of the present volume has not only done, with regard to the dominions of her Hungarian Majesty, and the Grand Duke her consort, but hath also added a Map, upon the best design,



design, he will venture to say, of any map that has been published during the present war : nor does he think the execution, which did not depend on him, has fallen short of what will be expected in a plate of that magnitude. This map includes all those countries, in this part of the world, that are the usual seats of war, and cannot fail of being generally serviceable, whenever, or wherever, the houses of Austria and Bourbon shall take the field against each other.


Upon the whole ; If a brief survey of the most complex system of government, at this time in the world ; if a concise narration of transactions and events, many of which cannot be otherwise known without a pretty extensive reading in history ; if a view, upon one scale, with proper illustrations, of the subject and seat of the present contentions, that agitate the greatest part of Europe ; if these should be at any time acceptable, and are at this time peculiarly necessary, the compiler hopes he has so far succeeded, on every head, as to want no farther recommendation of this volume.

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# GERMAN OCEAN



An Accurate  
MAP  
of  
GERMANY  
Drawn  
From the latest  
DISCOVERIES

The Battles fought  
this War are  
marked thus X

50

50

45

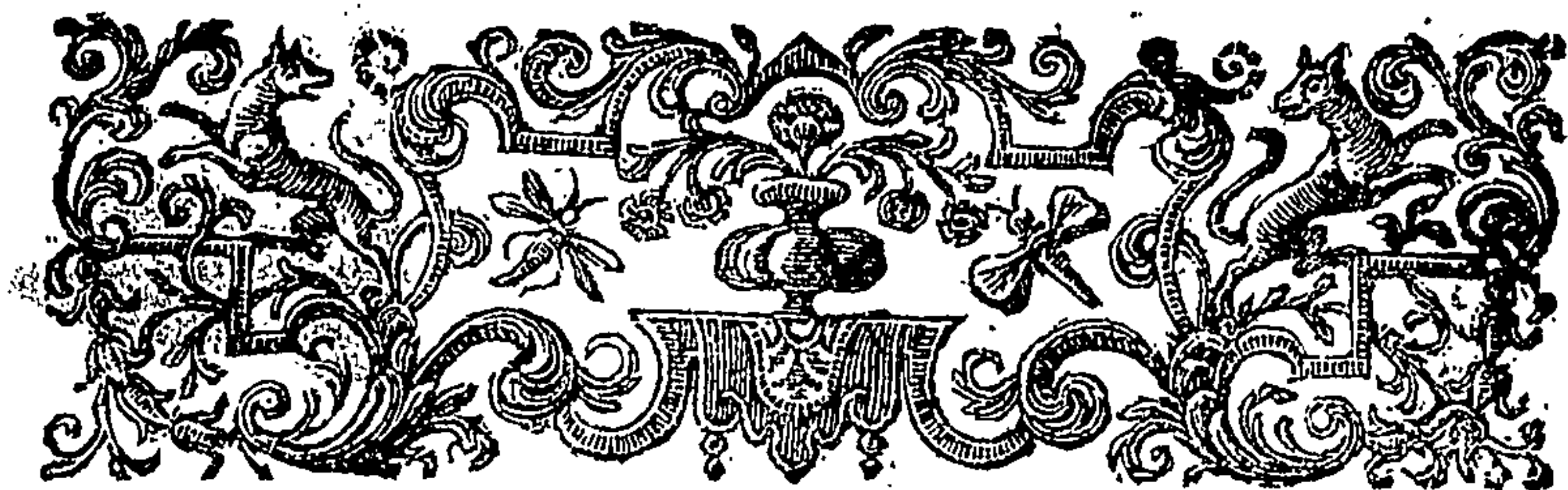
45

German Miles to a Degree  
British Miles to a Degree

10 Deg Longitude East from London

Bennett Sculp.





A

# COMPENDIOUS HISTORY

OF THE

## HOUSE of AUSTRIA.

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### CHAP. I.

A View of the Western or German Empire,  
in its present State.



It is well known that the Roman Empire, after the partition made of it by Constantine the Great among his sons, gradually lost of that eminent lustre it had enjoy'd under Augustus, Trajan, and other great princes. The Eastern and Western Empires, considered together, were far inferior to that they were founded on, the fourth and greatest monarchy; which, according to the receiv'd interpretation of Daniel's vision, was to be the last of a temporal nature.

How far our commentators are right, and whether the Turkish acquisitions, those of Tamerlane, and some others I could mention, have properly or not call'd so.

not been equal even to those of Alexander or Cæsar, is not my business to determine: But the German Empire, to which the same title of Roman has been still continued, never had, in my opinion, any resemblance to that of antient Rome; nor was, except in the reign of Charlemagne its Founder, Charles V, and perhaps one or two more, so worthy as those of Persia, India, China, or Muscovy upon our continent, to be made the immediate object of prophecy, and eminently distinguish'd from all others.

As was  
also the  
Constantinopolitan.

If some of that ancient glory and power, which set the Emperors of the first race at the head of mankind, was now and then recover'd by the Sovereigns of Constantinople, (as particularly by Justinian) the advantage was of short duration, and lost to the next invader: Nor could this, with any propriety, be call'd the Roman Empire, after Rome itself, the imperial seat, and the dominions that first compos'd the Roman state, were lost to it. Much less is the German constitution, which has more of the Gothic than of any other form, to be thought a derivation from the old Roman. This, in reality, was almost buried in its own ruins, before the name of Roman Emperor expired with Augustulus.

Rise of  
the German Empire.

Above three hundred years after, when Charles the Great, King of France, at the intreaty of the Roman Pontiff, had successfully made war upon Desiderius King of Lombardy, dispossest'd him of his dominions, and carried his arms to the extremities of Germany eastward; either the conqueror's ambition, or the Pope's voluntary gratitude, thought fit to revive a dignity that had been so long extinct, with which Charles was formally saluted in the year 800. From this time downwards, till Constantinople was



was lost to Sultan Mahomet II, in the year 1453; there were two successions of Emperors, in the East and in the West; or, of Constantinople and Rome; which latter title was by courtesy only, as those who held it, with the addition of Cæsar and Augustus, had no real sovereignty over the city they were denominated from: For this the Popes arrogated to themselves, as they had found means to get possession of it during the distractions of the times; and afterwards cook'd up a pretended grant, from Constantine the Great, of what they call'd the ECCLESIASTICAL TERRITORY, thereby affecting to reconcile temporal dominion with an office merely spiritual.

But if this new form of government, the German Empire, be unlike the Roman; let us enquire what other system, known in history, it most resembles; or what are its particular characteristics, whereby it is distinguished from all others. This will be found a necessary introduction to the ensuing history; it having been a frequent complaint, that the affairs of Germany are read with less understanding than most others, because of the great mixture of interests, confusion of names, and other obscurities.

I shall not enter into the dispute, whether Germany, in its present condition, has most of its Form, the MONARCHICAL, the ARISTOCRATICAL, or the DEMOCRATICAL Form. Such disquisitions answer no purpose, and will never reconcile the contending parties. “\* For it is not strange, as one observes, that those civilians who writ for the Emperor, and have been flatterers of the house of Austria, should contend for a monarchy; when others, who are employ'd by the princes, plead for an aristocracy; and a third sort, who live in the free and imperial cities,

B 2

\* Present State of Germany.

“ cities, appear advocates for a democracy.” If we have but the true idea of a thing, no matter what name we give it, when there is not a name already fix’d : And, as long as there are diversities of opinions upon the same subject, we shall continue to give different names to the same thing. For instance, if I give my own opinion, I shall perhaps differ from every one else, and pronounce that neither of these three distinctions, so well known to the antients, is at all expressive of the Germanic government, which seems to be one vast republic, compounded of them all ; of which the parts, however, are not strictly dependent on each other.

The Gre-  
cian and  
British  
confede-  
racies like  
it.

Something like this was ancient Greece ; a system of numerous little states, in league together against their common enemy the Trojans, under Agamemnon their general in chief. Something like it we may also suppose was ancient Britain, when invaded by Julius Cæsar, who informs \* us, that the several sovereignties united against him under Cassivellaunus, to whom, by the common suffrage, was entrusted the supreme command military and civil. But description, in this case, will do more than comparison.

Of what  
it consists.

The Germanic body, then, is made up of the following states ; the Emperor, the King of the Romans, the Electors, the Princes and Counts, the Bishops and Abbots, and the free or imperial cities. All of each denomination are separate independent sovereignties ; which however are subject to certain regulations, terms, and obligations, mutually and voluntarily entered into for their common security and preservation.— This, in short, is such a system, as were always to be wish’d for in the same circumstances, when a number of petty princes and states are surrounded by

\* Comment. Lib. III.

by a few particulars more powerful than themselves.

The EMPEROR is only head of this great The Em- confederacy, and may be much weaker than peror, some of the members ; for all he acquires by his title is only great honours, and the form of authority, without a foot of territory, or much effectual power. If he has no dominions of his own, the city of Bamberg is allotted for the place of his residence : For that Vienna has been so long the capital of the empire, is owing to no other cause, than that it is the capital of Austria, the ancient hereditary domain of the late imperial family.

As to the Emperor's power, there is no asser- Bound by taining the extent of it, because it is more or less the Capi- limited as the electors can prevail when they tulars. chuse him, and oblige him to sign what they call the CAPITULARS. This capitulation has been made so strict, that the Emperor could not even convoke a diet without consent of the electors : And the late Emperor Charles VI, who, besides the hereditary dominions of his family, succeeded to many large acquisitions from the Spanish monarchy, was tied up more strictly than his father or brother had been, lest he should make an oppressive use of his great strength. The electors had indeed great reason for this precaution, because Leopold and Joseph had made such encroachments, as even endangered the liberty of the empire : And what might they not expect from Charles, a young prince, more powerful than either of them, if he prov'd equally ambitious, and had been left equally at large to exert his ambition ?

These points then are contested ; Whether the His power Emperor can confer any new dignity, or deprive very small. of one already enjoy'd, without the consent of



the diet ; and whether he can grant investitures, without the same concurrence. These are certain, that he is not the arbiter of peace and war, nor can he demand help of the states, unless they consent to it, and promise assistance ; that he has no revenue from the empire, except a few trifles from inferior noblemen ; and that he cannot prescribe in matters of religion. It is hard then to say, what real advantage the Emperor has above other Princes of the empire, unless his own riches and force command it. This was the case with the Austrian family, but cannot be with an Elector of Bavaria ; who must therefore, without some addition to his hereditary dominions, make but a mean figure at the head of so many other Princes, some of them more powerful than himself.

King of  
the Ro-  
mans.

It has been long usual for the reigning Emperor, in order to secure the succession in his family, to get his eldest son, or other nearest relation, elected KING OF THE ROMANS. In this, more than in any other particular, the German Emperors imitate the Roman, who frequently took to themselves a coadjutor, by the name of Cæsar, to assist them in the government during their own life, and succeed them after their death. But then this choice of a Cæsar lay entirely in themselves ; whereas a King of the Romans is chosen by the electors, with the same solemnity as the Emperor himself ; who have it entirely in their determination, whether or no such election be at all necessary.

His Au-  
thority.

If it be hard to define the power of an Emperor, no wonder that of a King of the Romans is equally obscure. That he is the second person in the empire, and regent in the Emperor's absence or sickness, is not, in the opinion of some, giving him enough : For it has been pre-  
tended

tended that he is equal to, at least independant of, the Emperor. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V, manifestly thought himself so, when he made edicts without his brother's concurrence, and so chagrined that great Prince, that he repented his having promoted Ferdinand's election, and soon after resign'd both the imperial and regal dignity.

Whether Albert, the son of Rodolph, was the first King of the Romans, towards the end of the thirteenth century, or whether that dignity had continued long before, under the title first of King of Italy, and then King of Germany, historians are not agreed : But this is certain, that the house of Austria found their account in keeping it still up, and by that means continued the imperial crown above 300 years in their own family. If the jealousy of the late Emperor, who did not live to see a son born of his daughter's marriage, had not prevented him from pushing the election of the Grand duke of Tuscany, we had still seen a Princess of his house at least a consort on the imperial throne, with a fair prospect of entailing it afresh on her posterity.

I must not omit, that the titles of King of Bohemia and Hungary have generally preceded that of King of the Romans, since these two crowns have been perpetual in the Austrian line.

While Charlemagne, and his descendants of the French stock, held the imperial crown, it was deem'd hereditary to them, and they usually bequeathed it by will from father to son : But on the death of Lewis IV, in the year 912, it was transferr'd from the French to the Germans, and became elective. The States met at Worms, and upon the refusal of Otho, Duke

of Saxony, elected Conrad Duke of Franconia to the imperial dignity. We do not find any select number, but the whole body of the nobility and mitred clergy, as well as the soldiery, concern'd in this election: Nor can the time be clearly made out, when six or seven peers, exclusive of all the rest, assumed to themselves the elective right. In all probability, they took advantage of some great civil commotion, when the other princes were either ruin'd by wars, or inattentive to their own claims: But this sole right was not confirmed to them till the year 1356, which is the date of the famous GOLDEN BULL, an instrument made chiefly to ascertain their privileges.

Of the  
Electors.

Till the year 1648, there were but seven ELECTORS. These, till 1623, were the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne; the King of Bohemia, who, for two centuries, had been always Emperor; the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg: But that year, with consent of the electoral college, Ferdinand II transferr'd the electoral dignity of Frederic Count Palatine, who had contended with him for the Bohemian crown, to Maximilian Duke of Bavaria. Frederic was despoil'd of all, and he and his children lived in exile, till the year 1648, when, by the treaty of Munster, a new electorate was erected in favour of his son Charles-Lewis, to whom was restor'd the Palatinate of the Rhine. But the rank of first temporal Elector, and Great master of the empire, remain'd to the house of Bavaria, the Palatine being the last in order. The ninth electorate, that of Brunswick-Lunenburg, is no older than the year 1692, when it was granted to Duke Ernest, chiefly thro' the interest of King William III, to counterballance what



what the protestants had lost, by the devolution of the Palatine estates to the catholic house of Neuburg. It was the year 1708, before the late King George, with the general consent of the empire, took his place in the electoral college. A tenth Electorate is some time expected, in favour of the house of Hesse Cassel; which perhaps might have sooner taken place, if the succession to the Swedish crown had been continued to it.

The power and privileges of the Electors, besides what they enjoy in their own dominions in common with other Princes, is very great. To every new Emperor, at his election, they prescribe what conditions they please: They treat him as their equal, and after acts of hostility, make peace with him on equal terms: They can dethrone, as well as elect him; make and annul laws for the empire without his consent, and consult of general affairs without calling him to the councils. The estates of an Elector cannot be divided, like those of another Prince, but must descend entire to his eldest son. Conspiracy against his person is high treason, in the same degree as against a crown'd head. In short, we see three of these Electors on foreign thrones, which adds great weight to their authority: And the Landgrave of Hesse, tho' no Elector, is a fourth member of the empire invested with royalty.

During an interregnum, the Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony divide the administration; the first over those countries where the customs of the Franks are receiv'd, the other over those that are subject to the Saxon laws. This office they claim not as Electors, but as counts Palatine, or, according to the German, Pfaltzgraven.

The mention of this term, gives me an occasion to explain the dignity it originally express'd, Rise of several titles in the empire.

and several others peculiar to the German nation. Tho' the dominions of Charlemagne, as conquests, were invested originally in his person only; his sons, a race of weak indolent Princes, parcel'd away their estates, by degrees, among their great officers. They made the offices hereditary in their families, and still increased their wealth and dignity by repeated donations. HER-TOGEN, or Dukes, to whom they committed the government of the larger parts of Germany, were the first rank of these officers. After them came the GRAVEN, Counts, or Earls, who had the superintendency of smaller parts; the PFALTSGRAVEN, or Counts Palatine, prefects of the court royal, who administer'd justice in the verge of the palace; the LANDGRAVEN, presidents set over provinces; the MARGRAVEN, or Marquisses, presidents of the marshes or borders, for repelling the incursions of enemies, and administering justice to the inhabitants; and the BURGRAVEN, who were governors of the royal castles or forts.

How confirmed.

All these offices, as I said, being hereditary, the possessors of them in time obtain'd sovereign authority in their respective governments; which the Emperors, either thro' their own liberality, or being prevail'd on by money or service, or obliged by some exigency of affairs, have at several times confirm'd to them: so that at present, tho' the Emperor be supreme lord, he is not, as such, possess'd of any part of Germany.

When an Emperor is crown'd, if the Electors assist in person, each of the temporal ones carries a part of the imperial Insignia. The Elector of Mentz, at the chusing him, takes the suffrages; and he, and the archbishop of Treves, perform the coronation ceremony.

Besides

Besides these Electors, the empire has many Secular considerable sovereign Princes, that are little inferior to the others, except in the electoral dignity and prerogatives. Those of the four electoral houses of Palatine, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick, who are possess'd of very considerable estates; those of Mecklenburg, Wirtemberg, Hesse, Baden, Holstein, Anhalt, with many others of more modern creation, need have nothing more said of them in particular, than that their courts are generally splendid, and have all the officers and ensigns of sovereign power.

The number of sovereign PRINCES, who have The Ec- a right to vote in the diet of Ratisbon, is at this clesiastical day upwards of two hundred. A great many of these are ecclesiasticks, who, besides the rights that their order intitles them to, are lords of large provinces, and enjoy privileges in common with the secular princes of the empire: Their number however is much diminished, since the dismembring of the empire, and since not a few of their estates were secularized at the reformation. The chief that now remain, are the Archbishop of Saltzburgh, the Grand master of the Teutonic order, the Bishops of Bamberg, Wurtzburg, Worms, Aichstadt, Spire, Constance, Augs- burg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Freysingen, Ra- tisbon, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Basel, Liege, Os- naburg, Munster, the Abbots of Fulda and Kemp- ten, with many others. Several prelates, who are of great families, hold pluralities of these vast benefices: The Elector of Cologne, brother to the Elector of Bavaria, besides his electorate, has the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, Osna- burg, and Hildesheim, with the mastership of the Teutonic order, worth together about 300,000*l.* per annum; and the bishopricks of Bamberg



Bamberg and Wurtzburg, which are united in one person, bring in pretty near half that sum. These prelates are all chosen by the chapters of their respective churches, and out of their own body; for which reason younger brothers, of the greatest families, take care to get themselves elected canons in more than one cathedral.

The  
Counts,  
&c.

The COUNTS, and inferior PRINCES, are in great number, and some of them of small estates; which, with the custom of bearing the paternal title by all the sons of the family, makes their order, for the generality, ridiculous enough. But the heads of the houses have usually had sufficient to maintain a small court, and make some provisions for their relations; either by appointments of their own, or by getting them commissions in the service of the Emperor, an Elector, or some other great Prince. They are as absolute, however, in their districts, as the Emperor, or any other Prince, in his hereditary countries; and an attempt to infringe their prerogatives would be highly resented, by the whole Germanic body: so that these are sovereigns; not subjects of the Emperor, any more than the Electors themselves, but only allies. Their subjects swear allegiance to them. They appoint magistrates, make laws, change religion, exercise a power of life and death, declare war or make peace, all in their own names, without the Emperor's leave; only in sums above a certain value, there lies an appeal from them to the supreme chamber of Witzlar, and such of them as are limited, if they oppress their subjects, may be punish'd by the Aulic council.

Chief  
Counts.

The Counts of Berg, Nassau, Hanau, Schoenberg, Ploen, Solms, Seyn, Wartenberg, Fugger, Konigseck, Oettingen, Papenheim, Schlick, Zinzendorf, Traun, Cassel, Erpach, Hohenloe, Loewenstein,

Loewenstein, Nostitz, Schoenborn, Stahrenberg, and Windischgratz, have been reckon'd among the chief of this order.

I come now to the IMPERIAL or FREE CI-Imperial  
TIES, the last, but not the least considerable or Free  
member of the Germanic body. They are at cities.  
this day in number about fifty, each of them an  
independent republic within itself, and only sub-  
ject to the general laws of the empire. They  
were invested with these immunities by former  
Emperors, on account of some eminent services  
done by them to the public. They have a power  
to determine all causes within themselves, with-  
out appeal ; to coin money ; to raise troops ; to  
make leagues and confederacies. All the Em-  
perors have favour'd them much, as they serve  
to balance the power of the princes whose  
territories they stand upon, and often furnish  
their Imperial Majesties with large loans of mo-  
ney. Freedom, which is certainly, if any where,  
to be expected in a democracy, has made several  
of these cities the marts of Germany, and in  
some respects of all Europe: Hamburg, Lu-  
beck, Cologne, Bremen, Francfort, Ratisbon,  
Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Hall, &c. are  
names well known in the histories of modern  
ages.

Formerly there were more of these cities, and Some of  
it is but lately that Brunswick, Hildesheim, them re-  
Magdeburg, Erfurt, and Munster, have been duced.  
reduced under the potentates that now possess  
them. The French, in the reign of Lewis XIV,  
got possession of Strasburg, and the other im-  
perial cities in Alsatia. How long Dantzick,  
Lubeck, Bremen, and even Hamburg, will be  
able to maintain themselves, is hard to say, if  
we consider their situation: But where they lie  
between different states, it is undoubtedly the in-  
terest

terest of the Princes, upon whom they border, to preserve their independency. Hamburgh has been thus preserved by the German Princes, against the King of Denmark, and the Duke of Holstein.

Hans  
towns.

There is this difference between the Imperial cities and the Hans towns; that the latter, as such, make up no part of the legislature of the empire, but are a confederacy of the principal trading and sea port towns, form'd for mutual defence. They were formerly seventy in number, situate in several countries, many of which were at the same time imperial cities. A conjunction of two or three of these made a considerable power, and have been formidable even to sovereign Princes. But those in France, Spain, England, Denmark, and Sweden, have been long broke off from the union, and only those of the empire remain; whose deputies, since the fourteenth century, enter into the third order in the diet of Ratisbon.

Barons,  
&c.

Besides the titles already mention'd, there are several sorts of BARONS, the lowest of which are but equal to our Knights. For as to this latter title, it is hardly known in Germany, except among the military orders. No man is call'd a Gentleman who is not really above the plebeian rank, and lives without manual art or merchandize. An Esquire in England often signifies less than a Gentleman does in Germany.

Laws.

The GOLDEN BULL in the empire is much what Magna Charta is in England, and they appeal to it in the same manner. It was establish'd about 1360, by the Emperor Charles IV. There are, besides, the general laws of the empire, made in the diet; and the particular laws of every state, which may be contradictory to the general laws, provided they no way affect the welfare  
of



of the empire. But what the Emperors, for some centuries past, have govern'd by, are their own capitulars, which, as I before observed, are made by every one at his accession. Both the canon and civil law are in use here, in their respective chambers.

Ratisbon, on account of its convenient situation, is generally the place where the diet is held; tho' neither time nor place is fix'd for that purpose, and we have just now seen a diet at Francfort, because of the war in Bavaria. The Emperor's commissary, the deputies of the Electors, the Princes, the Counts, and the cities, all sit in one large room, where Count Papenheim, hereditary marshal of the empire under the Elector of Saxony, takes the suffrages; which may, in all, be about two hundred and fifty. But as the rights of precedence, and order of procedure, have never yet been fix'd in this august assembly, much of their session is always wasted in disputes about these, or about the Emperor's power.

The chamber of Spires, lately removed to Witzlar, is the sovereign court of justice for the empire. Appeals in all civil affairs, and sums above a certain value, may be made to it; but the proceedings are so extremely dilatory, that few give themselves the trouble. The Aulic council at Vienna is the other great court of judicature, and still contends for superiority with that of Witzlar. There is no appeal from one to the other, or from either to the general diet.



## C H A P. II.

A short chronological History of the Emperors, from CHARLEMAGNE down to RODOLPH of Hapsburg.

Charle-  
magne.



Have mention'd that Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, King of France, by the taking of Desiderius, King of the Lombards, put an end to their dominion in Italy, after it had lasted above two hundred years. He defeated the Saxons, and converted Widischind their Duke, who brought over the whole nation. By the conquest and capture of Tassion, the kingdom of Bavaria was incorporated to his crown. He carried his arms yet farther to the East, and was at last crown'd Emperor of the West by Pope Leo, and acknowledged as such by Nicephorus, Emperor of Constantinople. Charlemagne was learned, and a great lover of learned men, of whom there were many in his reign. Among other great designs, he had form'd that of joining the German ocean to the Black sea, by a canal cut between the Rhine and the Danube ; but, upon trial, found the thing impracticable.

800.

Lewis I,  
814.

Lewis I, son of Charlemagne, was call'd the pious and the debonair ; yet was he cruel to his nephew Bernard, whose eyes he put out, and beheaded the bishops that were of his party. He was of so easy a temper, as to make himself contemptible and ridiculous. By suffering himself to be absolutely govern'd by his second wife Judith, who thought only of aggrandizing her son Charles,

Charles, at the expence of those by a former venter; and by listening to his favourite Duke Bernard of Barcelona, whom these sons accused of adultery; he engaged in a war with his own children: But they twice took him prisoner, and the last time, by advice of the clergy, shut him up in a monastery, where he lived five years.

The eldest son of Lewis the debonair, and Lotharius who had done him the greatest injury, was Lo-<sup>840.</sup>tharius, from whom Lorrain (in Latin Lotharingia) was denominated. He was overcome by his brother in war, who shut up him also in a monastery, as he had done his father.

At his death, he bequeath'd the empire to his three sons; but Charles II, surnamed the Bald, brother to Lotharius, got himself declared Emperor. This prince was always pompously dress'd, wearing a long robe, after the Grecian manner, called a Dalmatica, with a crown, and a costly scymeter. He was poison'd in his return from Italy by his physician, Zedekias a Jew, and left for his successor.

Lewis II, called the Stammerer, who was the Lewis II, fourth king of France and Emperor. He reigned<sup>857.</sup> only two years, and was poison'd, leaving two bastard sons, and his wife three months gone with child. He ordain'd that Eudes, or Odo, duke of Angers, should be regent during the minority, in case the Queen was delivered of a son.

The natural sons of Lewis II, however, so Lewis III, well managed it with the states, that they were<sup>and Carloman.</sup> declared regents, and crown'd, in the room of the duke of Angers, by the names of Lewis III, and Carloman. The Queen was in effect deliver'd of a son, known by the name of Charles the Simple. He reigned afterwards but twenty or two and twenty years, under several regents, who



who were indeed the sovereigns, while Charles only had the name.

**Lewis the indolent.** Mention is made of one Lewis the Indolent (*le faineant*, because *nihil fecit*, he did nothing) as a regent, about this time ; but he is not put in the rank of sovereign princes.

**Death of Lewis III.** According to some, Lewis III died at Tours, being crush'd to death by the fall of a gate, as he was riding in pleasantry after a young lady. And it has been said of Carloman, who remain'd sole regent, that he received a mortal wound in the side by a hunting javelin, thrown by one of his attendants at a wild boar, who was going to attack him in the forest of Yveline, near Montfort l'Amaulry : And that the Emperor so well conceal'd the matter, to save the gentleman's life, that the fact was not known till a long time after his decease.

**Charles the Fat.** Charles the Fat, son of Lewis of Germany, and grandson of Lewis the debonair, was also crown'd during the minority of Charles the simple. The Germans deposed him from the empire, which afterwards devolv'd from the French, who had scarce held it a hundred years, and became elective among the German princes. After this, the descendants of Charlemagne were confin'd to the French monarchy only. Some introduce other and more names into the list of these princes, but on what ground is uncertain.

**Arnold. 887.** It was owing to the decay of understanding and bodily strength discover'd in Charles, that the Germans chose Arnold, the natural son of Carloman King of Bavaria, to reign over them. Italy was in his reign rent with civil dissensions, and the Romans seiz'd on a part of Neustria. Arnold was successful in war, quieted Germany and Italy, made his entry into Rome in 896, and was crown'd Emperor by Pope Formosus.

He

He died three years after, not without suspicion of poison.

Lewis IV, the son of Arnold, was declared Lewis IV, Emperor by the princes and nobility assembled 900. at Forcheim, tho' but seven years old when his father died. This prince, who reign'd only twelve years, met with various fortune; had wars with Suintebold, his natural brother, and the Hungarians; and beheaded the count of Bamberg, for being the cause of intestine commotion in the empire. Some authors make Arnold and Lewis of French descent.

The empire, at this time, was of vast extent, comprehending, besides what is now call'd Germany, all the Netherlands, the county of Burgundy, Lorrain, Switzerland, and a part of Italy. It had been hereditary in the French race, and, in all probability, if no partition of their dominions had ever been made by Charlemagne's successors, the Imperial and French crowns had descended together to our own times: But the heads of each division being independent and jealous of each other, enmity naturally sprung between the people, and the Germans were glad entirely to shake off the family the first opportunity; which they had at the death of Lewis IV, who left no issue, allowing the said Lewis to be of French extraction.

The consent of the states to the Emperor's will, in relation to a successor, which was always obtain'd by the descendents of Charlemagne, look'd so much like an election, that it manifestly gave rise to that which now subsists. Conrad, duke of Franconia and Hesse, was e- Conrad, lected at Worms, upon the refusal of Otho duke 912. of Saxony. He reigned about seven years, and increased the Imperial authority.



Henry I,  
920.

Henry duke of Saxony, the son of Otho, was elected at Witzlar with universal applause. He was call'd the Bird-catcher, from his love of that diversion. He refus'd a title from the Pope; defeated the Hungarians; drove back and made peace with Charles the Simple, who disputed with him the imperial crown; reform'd the Banditti; garrison'd the towns, and settled subsistence for the troops; exercised the nobility; promoted christianity; and got his son nominated to the empire after his death, which happen'd in 936. He was, in his time, the greatest prince in Europe.

Otho I,  
937.

Otho's election was made at Aix la Chapelle, with the general consent of all the princes there present. His reign was pretty peaceable, and from the beginning he shew'd a great deal of integrity and justice, with indignation at every unworthy action. However, he subdu'd Boleslaus duke of Bohemia, and his own competitor for the empire; redress'd Alix Queen of Lombardy, and married her; reclaim'd to obedience his son Luitolf, who revolted on this second marriage; was acknowledged Emperor of the Romans at Rome, and King of Italy; suppress'd several insurrections, and erected many bishopricks. He died in 974, after reigning thirty-seven years, and left the surname of Great.

Otho II,  
974.

His son Otho, who, during the father's life time, had defeated the Greeks and Saracens, was also crown'd his successor at Aix la Chapelle in 974. He was call'd the Bloody, or the Pale Death of the Saracens. Lotharius, King of France, had like to have surpriz'd him in his capital, which he revenged by invading Champagne. He was defeated by the Saracens, and taken prisoner, at Bastantello in Calabria, anno 982; but ransom'd before he was known. After which  
he

he burnt Benventum, extirpated the whole race of Saracens in Italy, and died at Rome, of a poison'd javelin, in 983.

At eleven years of age succeeded Otho III, Otho III, call'd the Red, or the Wonder of the World. 983.

He had several competitors, of whom having got rid, he was crown'd at Aken (or Aix la Chapelle). Pope John XV, having been driven out of Rome by Crescentius, came to Otho to implore assistance, who went to Rome, and, upon the death of John, was present at the creation of Gregory V. This prelate crown'd the Emperor, and desired him to pardon Crescentius; who, when the Emperor was withdrawn, deposed his benefactor, and set up an anti-pope. Otho returning, caused the false Pope's eyes to be put out, and Crescentius to be beheaded in 998. The next year he married Joan the widow of Crescentius, and in 1001 drove the Saracens from Capua. He died at Paternum in Italy, anno 1002, in the thirtieth year of his age, by poison, it was thought, from the hands of his wife. He was a learned Prince, and too liberal. It is said that the three Othos, who were all devout, gave to the church two thirds of their estates in Germany.

Henry Duke of Bavaria, grandson to Otho II Henry II, by his daughter, obtain'd the imperial crown 1002. from his competitors. The present manner of electing, by a certain number of Princes only, is said to have been first practised on this occasion; Otho III and Pope Gregory having establish'd the electoral college. Henry was call'd the Delight of the Hungarians, the Saint, and the Cripple. He call'd a council to regulate church discipline, and order'd particular synods in several places; made a successful expedition into Italy, against Ardwin, marquis of Yvry; erected Hungary into a kingdom, in favour of Duke



Stephen, who married his niece ; turned the county of Bamberg into a bishoprick ; enter'd into friendship with Robert King of France ; and died in 1024.

Conrad II, 1024. Conrad of Franconia, surnam'd the Salic, was the next Emperor ; a lover of justice, and encourager of virtue. He reduced the Lombards, and was crown'd at Rome : He broke a confederacy of several Princes against him, and deprived them of their dominions ; by his generosity subdu'd Misico, Duke of Poland, who had assum'd the title of King ; obliged Stephen, King of Hungary, who made war on him in right of his wife, to sue for peace ; quell'd a rebellion in Italy, and then apply'd himself wholly to peace ; but died in 1039, at Utrecht.

Henry III, 1039. His son, Henry the Black, who had before been acknowledged successor, was chosen Emperor without opposition. In a second campaign he reduced the Bohemians, and in another drove out Ovon, usurper of the crown of Hungary. In 1046 he marched into Italy with an army, where the Romans had chosen a Pope without his concurrence, and advanced Hudiger bishop of Bamberg to the see, of his sole authority, by the name of Clement II. Upon the death of Clement, he nominated another by the name of Leo IX : But the Romans, when Leo died, having chosen one themselves, the Emperor was induc'd to confirm the election. He had ill success in his last Hungarian war, where one Andrew had usurp'd the crown, and dethroned Peter the rightful King. He was the first that introduced the custom of chusing a king of the Romans, in order to secure the succession, and got that honour confer'd on his son, then but five years old. This Emperor died in 1056, at the age of 35 years, having reigned 17.

Henry

Henry the Great, called also the Old, succeeded Henry IV, his father. His mother reigned for him till 1056. 1062, when some envious grandees disdaining to be under her government, enticed him to the banks of the Rhine, and got him on board a pleasure-boat: But their own confusion, and the cries of the people on the shore, so frightened the young Emperor, that he leap'd into the river, thinking to escape by swimming. He might have done so, had not Ecbert marquis of Saxony leap'd in after him, and catch'd him. They then carried him to Cologne, and set him on the throne at thirteen years of age. He was in his youth exceedingly debauch'd, which made him a great many enemies, particularly in the papal see. He defeated the rebellious Saxons, his natural subjects, who made war against him under Otho. The duke of Bavaria having a secret design upon his crown, the Emperor suspected him, and fell to open hostility, driving him out of Saxony. That duke, and several other princes sent him word, that unless he would demolish his fortresses, visit the other provinces of his estates, and not reside always at Goslar, and likewise give them a share in the government, they would make war against him; and accordingly, they surprized him in the castle of Wurtzburg, where he made fair promises, and escaped. In the mean time, one Regenger, a favourite domestic, accused the Emperor to the Princes at war with him, of having solicited him and another to assassinate the Dukes of Swabia, Carinthia, and Bavaria. The Emperor answer'd, that Rodolph of Bavaria, having a design on the imperial crown, had invented this calumny to cover his treachery, and that he was ready to fight even Regenger, to justify himself. But Regenger falling ill, and dying a miserable death, it was



given out that he was carry'd away by the devil; which in some measure justified Henry, and reclaim'd the people to obedience.

In the year 1074 he made peace with the Saxons; but they afterwards having broken the treaty, he defeated them the next year, and made their princes and prelates humble themselves. Not long after, Pope Gregory VII order'd the deprivation of all bishops, who were under or invested by secular princes; turn'd out several German prelates, and sent to Henry to execute his will, and release those Saxon bishops he had imprison'd. Henry, upon this, call'd a council at Worms, deposed Gregory as a Simoniack, and disturber of the church and empire. The Pope, in return, pour'd out plentiful curses and excommunication on his imperial majesty, and absolved his subjects from their obedience: And the German princes and prelates taking advantage of this, and abandoning their head, he was forced, in the rigour of the winter, with his empress, his son, and only one gentleman, to pass the Alps, almost famished and starved, and to cast himself at the Pope's feet, after he, with his Empress and son, had waited in penitential habits three days, with their heads uncover'd, their feet bare, and without eating: To such a height of insolence was the pontifical power at that time arriv'd! This penance being over, he was absolved upon the Pope's terms: But when he got loose, he began to meditate a revenge; whereupon the Pope excommunicated him again, and confirm'd the election of Rodolph of Bavaria, his rival. Henry, however, defeated Rodolph's forces, when Godfrey of Bolloign, Duke of Lorraine, cut off the usurper's right-hand, and wounded him mortally in the belly. Rodolph, on his death-bed, gave the sever'd hand, with  
which

which he had usurp'd the imperial crown, as a pledge of fidelity and repentance, to the Emperor.

Henry then deposed Pope Gregory, and set up Clement in his stead ; took Rome by storm, and besieged Gregory in the castle of St Angelo ; whence being deliver'd, he died soon after. But the succeeding Popes, Victor III, Urban II, and Paschal II, raised up against Henry, first Harman count of Luxemburg, who did not succeed ; then his own sons, Conrad and Henry : Which latter having procured a decree of the states against his father, sent to demand the regalia. The Emperor would not deliver them, but suffered the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne to take them by force. Being reduced to poverty, he would have become a canon of the church at Spire ; but was refused by reason of his excommunication. He was afterwards received in Cologne, and, being seconded by the duke of Lorraine, and other princes, held out that place against his son. At last, in the midst of all his troubles, he died at Liege in the year 1106, which was the 56th of his age, and 50th of his reign. His body, being buried in a monastery, was three days after taken out of its grave, and kept five years above ground, because of his excommunication. He was a prince of incomparable wit, valour, and liberality, and of a most forgiving temper. Historians say, that his death was foretold by two suns, one seeming to thrust out another, and by a prodigious comet. This prince commanded his armies in fifty-two battles, in almost all which he came off with victory.

Henry the Young, having got possession of Henry V. the imperial dignity during the life of his father, began his reign with favouring the ecclesiastics ;



sticks ; neglecting, with that view, the rights and authority of the empire, which his father had maintained at the peril of every thing. But after he had acted this part sufficiently, he changed the scene, and began to tread in the steps of his great predecessor. His impiety, however, towards that excellent parent, seem'd to have entail'd a curse upon all his actions ; and his great avarice sully'd all his virtues. The Pope, in a council, deprived him of the right of investitures, and then threw himself on the King of France for protection ; who brought about a conference between the Pontif and his imperial majesty, which ended in nothing. Henry then attempted to conquer Silesia, which belong'd to the Poles ; but desisted from the enterprize after a great defeat. His contest with the Pope, about investitures, was the most important affair of his reign. Paschal continuing obstinate, Henry invaded Italy, took possession of Rome, made the Pope and several bishops prisoners, the latter of whom he ordered to be beheaded, to make the Pontif flexible. This had the desired effect, Paschal consenting that the emperor should still enjoy his right : Which agreement the ecclesiasticks in Germany, at Henry's return, disputed the validity of ; and the Pope, soon after, revoked it, and excommunicated the Emperor.

Henry, hearing this, set out on a second Italian expedition, and the Pope retired from Rome at his approach. Upon the death of Paschal, he nominated the bishop of Prague, who had crowned him at Rome, for successor in the holy see : In opposition to whom, the college elected cardinal Cajetan, by the name of Gelasius ; and, upon his death the next year, they chose the archbishop of Vienne in France to the pontificate, who took the name of Calistus. This Pope,

Pope, willing to compromise their long dispute, consented to leave the investitures with the emperor, provided he gave them without the crozier and ring ; and a day was appointed for them to meet, and sign the agreement at Mouzon. But the Emperor bringing with him an army of 30,000 men, the Pope was so terrified, that he did not stay for his arrival, and the affair blew over again. Calistus then went to Rome, raised forces, besieged Gregory his rival, the archbishop of Prague, in Sutry, and took him prisoner. At last the Emperor, oppress'd with leagues, was forced to labour in earnest for an accommodation with the Pope : The consequence of which was a general council held at Rome, where the dispute about investitures was decided according to the above agreement, and the Emperor's excommunication taken off. Henry, after this, had some insurrections to quell ; which he did with success, and then died, anno 1125. His wife was Mathilda, or Maud, daughter of Henry II King of England, by whom he had no issue.

Either Conrad Duke of Franconia, or Frederic Lotharius Duke of Suabia, both nephews of Henry, II, 1125. would have succeeded him in the empire, but for the archbishop of Mentz's resentment, who pretended that Henry had given him ill usage. This prelate, having inveigled the imperial ornaments out of the hands of the Empress dowager, got Lotharius, Duke of Saxe-Supplenburg, to be elected, and crown'd him at Aken in September 1126. This Prince had been serviceable to the ecclesiasticks, in the dispute about investitures, which in reality gain'd him the imperial dignity. But of his two competitors, Frederick was elected King of the Romans by a number of princes, and Conrad was crown'd at Milan, by



by the bishop of that city : However, after short wars, they were both heartily reconcil'd to Lotharius. This Emperor, at the intreaty of St Bernard, made an expedition into Italy in favour of Pope Innocent II, whom he restor'd, and deposed Anacletus his competitor. He introduced the Roman laws into the empire; and hearing that Anacletus had again prevail'd, he once more pass'd the Alps, and drove him away, which broke his heart. He died on his return, near Trent, in the year 1128.

Conrad  
III, 1138. Three Archbishops and four secular Princes were chosen from the rest, by general consent, to take the suffrages of all the assembly, which met to chuse another Emperor. These seven are the old Electors, who a long time after had the sole right of making that choice, which at first they were only to collect and declare. On the present occasion, they unanimously chose Conrad Duke of Franconia. Henry the proud, duke of Bavaria, expected to have been elected, and had the imperial ornaments deliver'd him by Lotharius before his death. Upon refusing to restore them, the diet depriv'd him of his dominions, which broke his heart a short time after.

But Conrad's troubles were not here at an end; for Guelpho, the brother of Henry, at the instigation of Roger King of Sicily, carry'd on the war. Conrad laid siege to Winsberg, which Guelpho resolutely defended. Then it was those famous factions first took their beginning, which afterwards for so many years wasted all Italy. Every one has heard of the Guelphs and Gibellines; the former of whom were the Emperor's enemies, so call'd from Duke Guelpho; the latter his friends, denominated from Gebling, the place of his birth. It was at the siege of Winsberg that the women gave that  
notable

notable example of conjugal affection, when, upon the surrender of the place, having liberty to carry out what they would, each good wife took her husband upon her shoulders, and by this generous action appeased the Emperor's anger. During the civil war in Italy, several cities threw off their dependency, and set up for free republics.

It was in his reign that Bernard the monk, commonly call'd St Bernard, promoted the crusade with Lewis VII King of France, and the emperor Conrad. The latter, at the head of 200,000 foot and 70,000 horse, march'd thro' Hungary for the Holy-land: But Emanuel Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, suffer'd the best part of this army to perish thro' famine, separation, or giving them lime mix'd with their corn. Conrad came at last into Syria, but to no purpose, discord compleating the mischief that envy had begun: The siege of Damascus was broke up, and Conrad returned home, the French soon after following. Not long after his return the Emperor died, while his thoughts were bent upon pacifying Italy, anno 1152.

Frederick Duke of Suabia, nephew to Con-Frederick rad by a brother, and called Barbarossa, or I, 1152. Red-beard, from the colour of his hair and beard, was elected Emperor, as well by the votes of the electors, as by his uncle's designation. He immediately opened the scene of war in Germany, to make way for that which followed in Italy, where the papal see took part with the Guelphs. Never did any Prince more violently oppose the Pontiffs; having made six expeditions into Italy with that view; thrice took the strong city of Milan, and once destroy'd it. Besides six acknowledg'd Popes, there were in his reign two Antipopes, Victor and



and Paschal. Alexander III, being expell'd Italy, excommunicated this Emperor, and at last, by the help of the Venetians, so reduced him, that he was obliged to sue for peace at the Pontif's feet, who haughtily trampled on his neck.

But Frederick ended better than he began; going over to Palestine, and performing many brave actions by the way, against the Turks. At last, in the thirty-eighth year of his empire, going hot to swim in a river of Cilicia or Armenia, he sunk, and soon after expired, anno 1190. His son Frederick, about the same time, died of a fever at the siege of Ptolemais. This Emperor was a brave man, and his contentions with the Popes shew he was no bigot: But could he have neglected them, and turn'd his arms sooner against the Saracens, he might perhaps have sav'd Palestine, which had cost such rivers of blood, from the calamities he afterwards endeavoured to retrieve.

For Guy de Lusignan, of a noble family in Poictou, being raised by Sybilla, Queen of Jerusalem, to her throne and bed; the very next year, which was that of Christ 1178, lost his liberty and kingdom, being defeated and taken by Saladin, Sultan of Babylon. Jerusalem, and with it other places, were then deliver'd up to the Infidels, and the calamity was so universal, that the Christians remain'd masters but of three cities, Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch. Thus was the kingdom of Jerusalem overthrown, within less than a century after it had been erected. Happy had it been for Christendom, if such a kingdom had never been thought of: But, when it was once raised, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, this sudden demolition was a great disgrace. Saladin, however, was such a man as might have subdued, not only a decay-  
ing

ing, but a well establish'd kingdom in all things. Like Godfrey the founder, except in his religion; given to no one vice, except ambition; truly the Saracen Cæsar, as well for mercy as valour.

Henry the Severe, so called from his severity Henry VI, as well towards himself as others, succeeded his father Frederick, and spent most of his time in seizing the Two Sicilies. William, the son of Robert, King of the Sicilies, dying without legitimate issue, the right to that crown devolved upon Constantia, William's sister, and wife to Henry. But Tancred, William's natural son, got possession of these kingdoms, and pretended they were entailed only on the male line. Henry, however, would not give up his right; but, being crowned by Celestine III, invaded Apulia, and then passed over into Sicily. Tancred dying soon after, the Emperor got possession of his inheritances, and made peace with Sibylla, Tancred's wife, and his young son William: But all this success was soon after dishonour'd by cruelty; for he put to death many of the Sicilians, upon a slight suspicion; thrust Sibylla into prison, and put out the eyes of innocent young William. In this youth ended the family of Guiscard, that famous race of Normans. Henry, after this, sent his forces into Palestine, and, being about to invade the empire of Constantinople, he dy'd almost like his father, having got a fever by drinking a great draught of water, as he was hunting, in the 7th year of his reign; leaving his son Frederick, but three months old, to the care of his brother Philip. As the Empress Constantia was near fifty years old, when she grew pregnant with this child, the Emperor, to prevent all suspicion of imposture, had



had her delivered in a tent, in the open field near Palermo, in the midst of all the people.

Philip,  
1198,

Philip, Duke of Suabia, took on him the administration of the empire, and the tutorship of his nephew, the young King of the Romans. But Pope Innocent, resolving to take advantage of Frederick's minority, and to deprive the house of Suabia of the imperial crown, prevailed upon the Electors of Cologne and Treves, and some other princes, spiritual and secular, to elect Otho of Saxony Emperor. The other Princes re-elected Frederick, and, for the greater surety, made his uncle and guardian King of the Romans. In a word, the contention continued between them, with repeated elections and coronations (the Pope still favouring Otho, and excommunicating Philip, who made good his part by alliances) till the death of the latter, who was murdered in a visit by the Count Palatine of Wittelsbach, and greatly lamented.

Otho IV,  
1208.

Otho had the justice to condemn to death the assassin, who was soon after kill'd in a public duel. As Otho had been favour'd by the Roman see, much was expected from him there, and he flatter'd all the clergy till he had got his coronation at Rome, and thought himself well established: But some of his men having been kill'd by the Roman citizens, he meditated revenge, and, instead of returning to Germany, took up his seat at Milan, and reconquer'd what the Pope had usurped from the empire: Hereupon he was excommunicated, and young Frederick, Duke of Suabia, King of Naples and Sicily, elected to the empire, in consequence of his former nomination to be King of the Romans. But Otho, at a diet held at Nuremberg, gave so good reasons for what he had done, that he was advised to make war on those Princes, who

who joined in the late election. He did this successfully ; but was afterwards entirely defeated by Philip Augustus, King of France, and narrowly escaped with his life, which he soon after finished with great devotion, anno 1218. His quarrel with Philip Augustus was upon a wager they had laid, when Otho was first elected Emperor, and pass'd from England through France. Philip, who neither believed, nor wished he should supplant his namesake, wager'd the best city in his kingdom against which he should chuse of Otho's baggage-horses, to be deliver'd if he carried his point. Otho seriously demanded Paris, which the other refusing, a war ensued.

FREDERICK II, the son of Henry VI, proposed his grandfather Barbarossa for his pattern in life and government. When Otho was dead, he held a diet to consult measures for the pacifying of Germany, and was crown'd at Rome, by Honorius III. He gave Spoleto and Tuscany to the Papal See ; march'd against the Saracens in Asia ; and fell out with Richard and Thomas Counts of Agnani, Princes of Tuscany, whom he threaten'd to depose. The Pope, highly displeased, menac'd him with excommunication ; at which the Emperor was so wise as to laugh, and gave for answer, that as his predecessors, from the time of Charlemagne, had executed such jurisdiction, he was resolved not to give it up. The excommunication was accordingly pronounced ; but so little regarded, that soon after the Pope was glad to revoke it, on the renewal of Frederick's promise to go to the Holy Land.

Frederick had married the King of Jerusalem's only daughter and heiress, which made his interest coincide with the Pope's intreaty : But

D

he



he no sooner arrived there a second time, than he made a treaty with the Saracens, who restor'd him Jerusalem ; and returning, engaged in a war with the Pope. He seized upon the estates of the knights-templars, and invested Rome with the Pope in it : But afterwards retired to Capua, without attempting any thing farther. The Pope again made peace with him, which was but of short duration ; Frederick taking upon him to write both against the Pope, and the papal religion. He then defeated the Milanese, conquered Sardinia and the state of Genoa, and made another attempt on Rome. Innocent IV, the next Pope to Celestine IV, excommunicated him, and retired for his own security into France, where Lewis protected his person and dignity. Frederick wrote to that monarch, complaining of the injustice of these proceedings, and declaring, that all the princes of the earth ought to think themselves concerned in his cause. However, the confederate forces in Italy beat his army ; his own son rebell'd against him ; and he became contemptible to his subjects, through the instigation of the clergy. Henry of Thuringia was elected in his room ; but lost his life soon after, before Ulm : And Frederick died, 'tis said, of spleen and disappointment, anno 1250, of his age fifty seven. He was a prince of fine accomplishments ; had a quick and penetrating genius ; spoke six languages, was valiant and brave : Yet is he rank'd among the loose princes, who little minded their promises.

Conrad  
IV, and  
William  
of Hol-  
land.

The reigns of CONRAD IV and WILLIAM of Holland were very short, and very unfortunate : The first died in his kingdom of Naples, anno 1254 ; and the other was killed by the garrison of a town, whose works he went unaccompanied to view ; having reigned only two years.

I have

I have little more to say of RICHARD Duke of Cornwall, and his competitor ALPHONSO King of Castile: They were both elected by different companies of the Electors, and neither of them had ever full possession of the imperial dignity. Richard wanted money to support it, though he had been crown'd, and in about three years returned to his brother, Henry III King of England. Alphonso, surnamed the Astrologer, had too much business upon his hands, in his wars with the Moors, to leave his native country; yet they both accepted, and made use of the imperial title.

From the time of Richard's abdicating the Empire, anno 1259, to the election of Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, in 1273, upon Alphonso's continuing to neglect coming into the empire, we may reckon an indisputable interregnum of fifteen years. During this time, Germany was a nest of robbers and outlaws, scarce any man being restrained from acting as he thought proper. One can expect but an imperfect account of such a state of anarchy; and accordingly, the writers of that time rather bewail than describe it. At last, several princes and states entered into union, for their mutual security; which, as it extended, they came more and more into the thoughts of a new election.

I must just mention, that during this interregnum, Conradin, son of the Emperor Conrad IV, made war upon Charles of Anjou, for his hereditary kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. He was accompanied by Frederick of Austria; and these two unfortunate Princes, being taken and beheaded by Charles, in them ended the families of Austria and Suabia.





## C H A P. III.

The Reigns of RODOLPH of Hapsburg, Founder of the House of AUSTRIA, and his Successors; 'till the entire Establishment of the AUSTRIAN Family on the Imperial Throne.

Rodolph  
I, 1273.



RODOLPH, Count of Hapsburg, was one of the peculiar favourites of fortune, in that, from a birth and estate no ways considerable among the Princes of Germany, he rose to the head of that powerful body. Hapsburg, from whence he had his title, was a small place in Alsatia, some say Switzerland, with a strong castle, the seat of his family.

Account  
of his  
younger  
days,

Authors tell us several wonderful stories, concerning the presages of Rodolph's greatness, and the remarkable instances of his youthful piety, which I leave the credulous to look for elsewhere. This only is certain, that he was bred up in the court of the Emperor Frederick II, whose ten sons all died in their minority; that he afterwards went into the service of Ottocarus, King of Bohemia, with whom he exercised the office of great marshal; that returning to his own territories, he behaved with so much prudence and valour among his neighbours, as to acquire a very great authority; and that in particular, he had laid such an obligation on  
Warner,

Warner, Archbishop of Mentz, by escorting him to and from the Alps, in his journey to Rome, as induced that prelate, who is first Elector of the Empire, to prefer him to all others in the ensuing diet.

For the princes, weary of the continual usurpations and violences that prevailed among them, and no longer minding the King of Castile's protestations, who they saw made no preparations for coming among them, assembled together at Frankfort, in October 1273, to chuse themselves a head. When Warner mentioned the Count of Hapsburg, with high encomiums of his merit; some objections were made on account of his small possessions, and want of natural authority and power; which the Archbishop overbalanc'd, by enlarging on his wisdom, valour, and experience, 'till he brought over the other two spiritual Electors: But this had been still insufficient, if the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, both single men, had not reflected, that Rodolph had seven fine daughters, beautiful and well educated, six of whom were yet unmarried; and that by the proper disposition of these, of whom they would take two themselves, Rodolph might form alliances to support his dignity. They were right in their conjecture, and could not have hit on a better motive to determine them in Rodolph's favour: For within the eighteen years of his reign, he saw one of them Queen of Bohemia, another Queen of Hungary, a third Countess Palatine, a fourth Duchess of Saxony, a fifth Marchioness of Brandenburg, a sixth Duchess of Bavaria, and only one unmarried, who had taken to a nunnery. Almost the whole strength of the Empire, with the addition of Hungary, was thus in the hands of his sons-in-law; and of his two sons, as we

His election to the Empire.

shall see hereafter, he left one Duke of Austria, and the other Duke of Suabia.

He is crowned. Rodolph, at the time of his election, was besieging Basil, with which city, and its Bishop he was then at war. The Abbot of St Gal had been in the confederacy against him; but Rodolph finding himself too weak, surpriz'd the Abbot with a visit, and by his arguments brought him over to his side. They sign'd the treaty without mediators, over a glass of wine. He was now prosecuting the war successfully, when the Burgrave of Wirtemberg came to him, and told him of his election; which he accepting, the Princes conducted him to Aken, where he was crown'd January the fifth, 1274. As the Imperial sceptre was not brought to the ceremony, the Princes made some difficulty of taking the usual oaths of allegiance: But Rodolph reaching a crucifix off the altar, held it as a sceptre, which removed every scruple.

He suppresses the robbers. His first care was to suppress the robbers, and secure the roads: He did this effectually in a short time, demolishing sixty of their fortresses in Thuringia only, and hanging up ninety nine men at once in the city of Erfurt. A Hungarian count, who had been at the head of the worst of these gangs a long time, he got persuaded to come and see him: The count was exceedingly pleas'd with his reception, and promised reformation; but was way-lay'd, and murder'd in his return back, by persons unknown.

Obtains Austria, &c, from the King of Bohemia. Ottocarus, King of Bohemia, upon the death of Frederick, had taken possession of the Austrian estates, and grievously oppressed the people. They, seeing the Emperor near them, implor'd his assistance to deliver them from the tyranny. In the mean time Ottocarus refused to pay homage to the Emperor, and treated him with contempt,



contempt, because he had once been his servant: Which provoked the diet of Augsbург to declare him a rebel to the Empire, and that the Emperor should reclaim the dominions he had unjustly invaded. Rodolph undertook the expedition, accompanied by several Princes, and in a short time reduc'd the haughty King to be content with Bohemia and Moravia, for which too he paid homage, and to leave Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola to the Empire: But this content was of short duration; his wife reproached him with the dishonour of the treaty, which made him attempt a new invasion, wherein he sacrific'd his life. Rodolph then, by consent of the diet, gave the Austrian dominions to his eldest son Albert. Rodolph, his second son, he also invested with the duchy of Suabia, in the same diet; which came to him by inheritance, in right of his wife Anne, the heiress of Conradin before-mentioned.

This Emperor never went into Italy, to receive coronation from the Pope; saying, "that Rome, to the Emperors his predecessors, was like the lion's den in the fable; one might see foot-steps enough into it, but none out, without some diminution of rights or prerogatives." He sent his chancellor, however, to take the homage of the Imperial cities in Italy; which they refusing to pay, except to the Emperor in person, he sold them the privileges which Lucca, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, and some others, have since enjoyed. This made him accus'd of avarice: But, if we may form a judgment by later examples of holding remote territories, what honours the Emperor lost in Italy, were the saving of so much expence to the Princes and States of Germany.

Orders  
proceed-  
ings in the  
German  
tongue.

It was with consent of the States, that he ordered the German tongue only to be used in all courts of judicature, and caused the first constitution of the Empire to be drawn up in that language at Wurtzburg, which regulated the measures that the ecclesiastical and secular Princes should observe with regard to each other, and the administration of civil government towards subjects and vassals.

His death  
and cha-  
racter.

He could not, however, prevail with the States to chuse his son Albert King of the Romans: And in the midst of his chagrin for their refusal, setting out from Strasburg for Spires, he said he would visit the deceased Emperors: He did so in effect; for dying by the way, at Gemersheim, his body was carried to Spires, and buried among them, anno 1291, being in the sixty third year of his age. He left behind him the character of a great lover of justice, and at the same time bore the surname of Merciful; was always plain in his dress, yet tenacious of the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial dignity.

Adolphus  
of Nassau,  
1292.

As an Elector of Mentz had procured the Imperial crown for the Emperor Rodolph, another Elector of Mentz, Gerard, precluded from it Albert Duke of Austria, Rodolph's son, in favour of ADOLPH, Count of Nassau, his own relation. He did it by insinuating to each Elector, that all the rest were inclined to some Prince whom he knew the man he spoke to hated: For they severally left him to nominate a person, not doubting but he would fix on Albert; when, to their great surprize, he chose out Count Adolph, who was accordingly proclaimed and crowned, about eight months after the death of the late Emperor.

Adolph, with many good qualities, was more a soldier than a politician, and made the officers  
of

of his army his chief councillors, neglecting the Princes. This alienated the latter from him, even to his friend the Elector of Mentz : And as he had not patrimony of his own to support the Imperial dignity, without their assistance, he made a contemptible figure. He let to hire himself, and what troops he could raise, in favour of Edward King of England, then at war with France. Albert did the same to the French King, and march'd with an army to Mentz, while the Emperor was making a diversion for the English in Alsatia. At Mentz the Electors met, deposed Adolph, and chose the Duke of Austria Emperor ; who then encamped under the walls of the city, and accepted their choice.

He dis-  
pleases the  
princes,  
who de-  
pose him,  
and chuse  
Albert.

It could not be doubted but a battle would ensue, as each competitor was at the head of an army. Adolph marched to Spire, where he was reinforced by several Princes and States of the Rhine : Albert advanced at the same time, and they met between Geinheim and the cloister of Rosendal, where a decisive battle was fought : For the rival Emperors finding each other, they attacked sword in hand, when Adolph, by a blow on the face, was struck to the ground, where some others dispatch'd him, in the sixth year of his reign, of the christian æra, 1298.

It was now easy for ALBERT to get his election ratified, even by those Princes who had hitherto opposed him. He was crown'd at Aken, amidst such a concourse of people, that his brother-in-law, the Duke of Saxony, with many others, were stifled in the croud. With some difficulty he got the Pope, Boniface VIII, to confirm his election ; and then, to prevent the Pontif from sowing dissention between him and the French, he had an interview with King Philip of France at Vaucouleurs, where a marriage was agreed on between

Albert I,  
1298.



between the Emperor's Son Rodolph and the King's daughter Blanch, which was consummated the next year.

Reclaims  
the toll of  
the Rhine.

The three spiritual Electors, and the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, had, thro' the remissness of the former Emperors, engross'd to themselves the toll of that river. Albert reclaim'd it, as an Imperial due; and being deny'd, and those four Princes refusing to appear to his summons, he made war upon them, and reduced them to his own conditions.

Occasions  
the Swifs  
to revolt.

Switzerland, which, since the reign of Conrad IV had been a kind of free state, dependent on the Empire, he attempted to reduce under immediate subjection to himself. In this he proceeded with so much rigour, that three of the cantons, those of Ury, Schweitz, and Underwaldt rose up in arms, drove out his officers, and threw off the dependency they before had on the Empire. The other cantons, by degrees, follow'd the example, and form'd the confederacy which at this day subsists.

His two  
Bohemian  
expediti-  
tions.

The Bohemian throne being vacant, in 1305, by the murder of young Wenaflaus, he put up for it his son Rodolph, against Henry of Carinthia, and carry'd his point: But Rodolph dying the next year, he could not succeed so well for his second son Frederick, Henry getting the start of him this time, and being surc of the people. However, Albert had the honour, in these two expeditions, to fight twelve battles, and win them all; which gain'd him the surname of Triumphant; as a misfortune he had met with when young, thro' a desperate experiment of his physicians, acquired that of the One-ey'd.

His greed-  
iness of  
dominion,  
which oc-  
casions his  
assassina-  
tion.

It appears thro' the whole course of this Emperor's reign, that the ambition of enlarging his dominions, by what means soever, was his predominant

dominant passion. He had indeed a numerous family, and hop'd by this means to provide for them all. Thus when his brother, Rodolph Duke of Suabia, died, he took on himself the administration of that duchy, and the landgraviate of Alfatia, which he would not surrender again when his nephew, John, came to be of age. This, and some indignities he had put upon him, made the young Prince meditate revenge ; which he amply took near Schafhausen, assisted by three friends, in sight of the Emperor's son, and many others. The case was this : They had a river to cross, and only one small boat at hand, when Duke John so contriv'd it, that only the Emperor, himself, and his three friends should ferry over first ; the Imperial Prince, and his retinue, waiting on the other side. They were no sooner over, but the conspirators executed their design, and made their escape, no man being able to pursue them. John, however, was at last taken, and died a prisoner in Italy : One of his friends was broken on a wheel ; the other two died naturally, one in a nunnery soon after, the other in the county of Wirtemberg, having lived thirty-five years a cowherd.

After Albert's death, it was not imagin'd that Henry the Electors would soon agree in the choice of a VII, successor. Philip the fair, King of France, had <sup>1308.</sup> raised Clement V to the papal see, upon the condition, that his holiness should contribute all in his power to get the Imperial crown transferr'd to his majesty. But the opportunity now being come, the Pontif saw the great inconvenience that would accrue to his own power, if the Imperial and French crowns were again in the hands of one prince : He sent therefore privately to the Electors, willing them to proceed to a choice, and recommending HENRY Count of Luxem-

Luxemburg as a fit person. Accordingly they chose this Prince, who was not less pleased than surprized at his elevation.

His son  
married  
to the  
heirefs of  
Bohemia.

Henry had a son, John, who was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter and heirefs of Wenceslaus King of Bohemia : But the marriage was deferr'd on account of certain aspersions thrown upon her character. John was seventeen years old, and the Princess four years older, which made her resolve to know the cause of this delay : And the Emperor having summon'd a diet at Spire, she repaired thither, found out the bottom of the affair, and insisted on being examin'd by a number of midwives and matrons, who entirely clear'd her innocence. Immediately after the nuptials were solemnized, and the new married couple went to reside in their kingdom of Bohemia.

The Count  
of Wir-  
temberg  
outed of  
his domi-  
nions.

Everard, Count of Wirtemberg, having persisted to molest the Imperial cities of Suabia, they complained of him to the diet of Spire. The Count repair'd thither, but came with so many forces as gave disgust ; and behaved so haughtily, that Henry put him to the ban of the Empire : In consequence of which an army was raised, which outed him of his dominions, and he lived an exile in the marquisate of Baden till this Emperor's death.

The Em-  
peror's  
expediti-  
on into  
Italy.

None of the Emperors having been in Italy since the year 1250, every nobleman had there set up for a sovereign, and the Guelphs and Gibellines grew more and more inveterate against each other. Henry resolved to put some end to this confusion, and accordingly, leaving his son John King of Bohemia lieutenant in the Empire, he marched into Italy with a great army, accompanied by several Princes. Pope Clement, who had solicited him to this expedition, when he



he saw with what force he undertook it, labour'd all in his power to thwart the design, lest Henry should re-establish the Imperial sovereignty in Italy. But Robert King of Naples, a confederacy of several principal cities, and one half of the Romans themselves, were not sufficient to stop the torrent of Henry's conquests. Milan, Cremona, Parma, Vicenza, Piacenza, Padua, Brescia, Verona, Parma, Mantua, all submitted, some without any, and some with little resistance. Venice sent him presents; Genoa received him magnificently; Rome he enter'd sword in hand, and bore down all opposition: The very cardinal-governors, who resided there in the Pope's name, were obliged to crown him; after which he would admit none of their college to sit with him at table, as they had hitherto done. In a short time after, by the vigilance of Boudet and Colonna, whom he left governors, the Gibelines triumphed over the Guelphs, and reduced all the city under the Imperial power.

Having deliberated with the Italian Princes, He dies in concerning the opposition of Robert King of Naples, Henry, with their consent, put him to the ban of the empire, and gave his kingdom to Frederick King of Sicily: The Pope interposed; but his interposition only the more irritated Henry; who marching himself, with all his forces, to assist Frederick in executing the ban, was arrested by poison on the way, which put an end to his life at Buon-convento, August the 24th, 1313, in the fifth year of his reign. His successors took the same care of his body, as he had done of the bodies of Adolph and Albert, transporting it to Spire, and laying it in the great church with royal magnificence.

An

Lewis V,  
and Frederick III,  
1314.

An interregnum follow'd the death of Henry, and lasted about fourteen months ; during which time the disorders of the Empire, that had before broke out, increased to such a degree, that several Princes and States enter'd into a confederacy, to protect each other against robbers, and their abettors. The candidates to succeed Henry were LEWIS Duke of Bavaria, and FREDERICK Duke of Austria, both cousin-germans, and grandsons of the Emperor Rodolph. As the Electors were divided, they were both declared Emperors, and crown'd, the one at Aken, and the other at Bon. This produced a long series of hostilities, without coming to a decisive battle, till on Michaelmas-day 1322, they met near Muldorf, with each an army of 30,000 men. Frederick, after giving surprizing instances of his valour, was defeated, and taken prisoner. All the Princes then acknowledged Lewis : Even Frederick himself, after three years confinement, renounced the Imperial title, and was set at liberty.

Lewis  
alone,  
1322.

Rodolph Count Palatine, the brother of Lewis, had been one of his enemies. Lewis drove him out of his dominions, into England, where he died exceeding poor ; but afterwards restor'd his children to their paternal estate, making the electoral dignity alternate between the houses of Palatine and Bavaria. This Emperor appropriated to himself the marquisate of Brandenburg, vacant by the deaths of Wolmar II and John IV, the last of their family. He had great contests with Pope John XXII, who refused to acknowledge him for Emperor, having before owned his competitor ; alledging in his bull, that the election of an Emperor could not be valid without his ratification, as the common father of Christendom ; and commanding him to desist from the Imperial functions, and quit the dignity.

His quarrel with  
the Pope.

Lewis

Lewis, on this occasion, summon'd a council of the most learned persons in Germany, who unanimously declared the Pope's decree to be unjust, and contrary to the christian religion. His Imperial majesty then answer'd it article by article, reproaching the Pope as a favourer of heresy, who in his turn excommunicated the Emperor. This irritated the Germannic body, who pray'd the Emperor not to suffer his dignity to be trampled on, pronounced the Pope an heretick, and order'd an army, under Leopold Duke of Austria, Frederick's brother, to depose him; which, however, was not then executed.

John XXII resided at Avignon, on account of the parties in Italy, which now harrafs'd each other as much as ever. The Gibellines triumph'd, even at Rome itself, against Robert King of Naples, head of the Guelphs. Lewis took this opportunity to march into Italy with an army, was crown'd King at Milan in 1327, and the next year Emperor at Rome, with the usual ceremonies. He then proceeded to the choice of a new Pope, by the name of Nicolas V, and passed sentence of death upon John, as convicted of heresy and high treason. But upon his retreat out of Italy, the party of John recover'd strength; and Nicolas, finding himself deserted, submitted to his rival, and liv'd three years after a prisoner in his palace. Tho' this Pope died in 1334, his spirit still subsisted in the factions he had fomented, and the whole reign of Lewis was a series of contests between the Papal and Imperial powers.

John King of Bohemia, son of Henry VII, thought to take the opportunity of these troubles, supported by France and Rome, to place his son Charles of Luxemburg on the Imperial throne. Lewis overthrew him; which occasion'd new measures

Lewis  
goes into  
Italy.  
Defeats  
the King  
of Bohe-  
mia.



measures to be concerted between the French and Bohemian courts. And Lewis, to balance this alliance, made a league with Edward III King of England. But he could not regain the affection of the holy see; whereupon he summoned a diet at Francfort, which made that celebrated constitution, whereby the independence of the Empire on the Pontiffs was establish'd in perpetuity. He then took off Pope John's interdict, by his own authority: But Clement VI, the next successor, renew'd all the former sentences, and endeavour'd to excite all Italy against his Imperial majesty, whose affairs there ran to ruin apace.

Charles of  
Luxem-  
burg cho-  
sen Empe-  
ror; yet  
Lewis  
keeps the  
dignity  
till his  
death.

Henry V was not more a martyr to the Investitures, than Lewis of Bavaria was to the Independency: He sought the friendship of the holy see, but could obtain it only on such unreasonable conditions, as, when published, raised the indignation of all the states of the empire against Clement. In the mean time fresh excommunications were thunder'd out; and Philip of France was working underhand with the Electors, two of whom he bought, to elect Charles of Luxemburg King of the Romans and Emperor. He prevailed at last: But the other Princes and States continuing faithful to Lewis, he defeated his new competitor in the Tirolese, and reigned securely, belov'd by his subjects, till the next year, 1347, when he died by a fall from his horse in hunting, and was buried in his own capital city of Munich.

Charles  
IV, 1347.

CHARLES of Luxemburg, at his baptism, was named Wenceslaus: But being afterwards sent into France, to Charles the Fair, who had married his sister, and had no children of his own, that monarch impos'd on him the name of Charles at his confirmation. He also provided him excel-  
lent

lent tutors, who taught him the Latin, French, and Italian tongues, besides the German and Bohemian, which were natural to him. Charles was made Marquis of Moravia by his father, at the age of seventeen, and govern'd that province with great reputation.

Upon the death of his father, being elected King of Bohemia, he rais'd an army to assert his title to the Imperial diadem: But Lewis dying in the mean time, he was acknowledged Emperor by most of the Imperial cities. However some of the Electors, who were not present when he was chosen, proceeded to a new choice. Edward King of England refused the honour: Frederick Landgrave of Thuringia accepted, but renounced it again to Charles for 10,000 marks: Gunther, Count of Swartzemburg, the next chosen, did the same for 22,000 marks; and dying a month after, all the Electors came in to Charles; who, having no longer a competitor, was crown'd in Germany in 1354, and at Rome in 1355.

On his return from Italy, he found the empire full of troubles, occasion'd by a dispute rais'd by the lesser Princes, who thought themselves equal to the great. As nothing on this subject had yet been reduced to writing, nor the number of the Electors ascertain'd, Charles call'd a diet at Nuremberg in 1356, consisting of all the States of the empire. Here was drawn up, and ratified, that famous edict call'd the GOLDEN BULL, consisting of ancient customs, and new regulations, relating to the form and ceremony of electing Emperors; the number, rights, functions, and privileges of the Electors; and other matters concerning the general government of the Empire. It consists of thirty articles, twenty three of which only were now pass'd, and the

Confirm'd  
in the Im-  
perial dig-  
nity,

He insti-  
tutes the  
Golden-  
Bull.

other seven added at Mentz, in a diet held there about the end of the year.

Executes  
the for-  
malities of  
it.

These constitutions being compleated, his Imperial majesty had them put in execution, in a magnificent entertainment which he made the next day. He, and his Empress, vested in their ornaments, having first heard a solemn mass, took their places at a table in the market-place, raised on an ascent. Here the three spiritual Electors, as Archchancellors of Germany, the Gauls, and Italy, appear'd with the proper ensigns of their office. The Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine, and Wenceslaus of Luxemburg, his Imperial majesty's nephew, whom he represented as King of Bohemia, officiated likewise according to their respective titles.

Idea of his  
govern-  
ment.

Charles, after this, return'd into Bohemia, and bent all his thoughts upon increasing his own patrimony. He added to it Silesia, a fief of Poland, and Lusatia, a fief of the empire; sold privileges to diverse cities, and increased the authority of other states, in consideration of a sum of money; sold, mortgag'd, and alienated the Imperial territories, and behav'd as if he had been in alliance with other powers to weaken his own authority. Bohemia, in a word, engross'd his whole care, where he founded the university of Prague in 1361, after the model of that at Paris. He repress'd the ambition and pride of churchmen, and was very careful in the administration of justice: But, on the other hand, so neglectful of affairs in Italy, that every thing ran there to confusion. When he was perswaded to go thither, and had been at Avignon to consult measures with the Pope for his expedition, it was three years before he set out upon it: Nor then did he any thing for the honour of the empire; for



for his efforts at first being ineffectual against the petty sovereigns that had sprung up there, he made a peace with them, which the Pope confir'md ; squeez'd large sums of money from diverse cities, and return'd to Bohemia in 1376.

With this money, the same year, he went in- Gets his  
to Germany, and in consideration of 100,000 son elec-  
ducats, paid to each of the Electors, got his son ted King  
Wenceslaus, then but fifteen years old, elected of the Ro-  
King of the Romans. To some of them, in mans.  
lieu of part of the money, he mortgag'd the toll  
of the Rhine, which they hold to this day ; and  
to others he convey'd towns and territories. It  
might be truly said of this Emperor, that he  
pluck'd the wings of the eagle.

At last, being return'd to Prague, he died His death.  
there November 29, 1378, after reigning about  
thirty-one years. He left the reputation of a  
good Prince to his own natural subjects, but a  
very bad Emperor.

Wenceslaus was but eighteen years of age, Wences-  
when he enter'd upon the government of the laus,  
empire, and kingdom of Bohemia. He was en- 1378,  
du'd with such vicious qualities, both of body  
and mind, that it was hardly possible for a man  
to be worse. All his actions were one continu'd  
scene of debaucheries, cruelty, and baseness. Af-  
ter his father's example, he sold all the Imperial  
rights that remain'd undisposed of in Germany.  
He pass'd blank patents, to be filled up at the  
pleasure of the purchasers ; whereby the most  
powerful, rich, and rapacious, took occasion to  
oppress the weak, the poor, and the men of  
probity. There was neither safety for commerce,  
nor order, nor civil government in the Empire,  
where the Princes and States took up arms against  
one another. The Electors sent an embassy to  
Prague, praying his Imperial majesty to come.

and reside among them ; which he refused, telling the embassadors, that all the world knew he was Emperor, and if any man had a mind to see him, they need but come into Bohemia. The Electors, hearing this, took on themselves the administration of affairs in their districts.

Rise of  
the reformation in  
Bohemia.

During this confusion, Leopold Duke of Austria attempted to reduce the revolted Swiss eight cantons of whom had already shaken off his yoke : But giving them battle, he lost both that and his life, whercupon all the other cantons withdrew their obedience from his successors. About the same time sprung up the reformation in Bohemia, under John Hus, professor of divinity in the university of Prague. He had got the books of Wickliff, which were brought over by a Bohemian Gentleman, who had studied in England. Wenceslaus endeavour'd to suppress these new doctrines ; but without effect, they being received with the greatest eagerness.

Wenceslaus deposed from the empire, dies King of Bohemia.

The excesses and cruelties of this Prince increasing daily, the chief Lords of his kingdom resolved to check them by force. They put him in prison, whence he escaped after four months, and was restor'd on condition of leading a more regular life, which he accordingly perform'd : But still the affairs of the Empire was as much neglected as ever : He sold the duchy of Milan, with many other cities, to John Galeas, Count de Vertus, for a large sum of money. John's father, Barnaby, had got possession of them ; but Wenceslaus should not have sold the Imperial right, without the consent of the Electors. These Princes thereupon met at a castle on the Rhine, in 1400, depos'd the Emperor from his dignity, and elected, first, Frederick Duke of Brunswick, and upon his being assassinated, Robert Count Palatine, to succeed him. Wenceslaus reigned

reigned nineteen years afterwards in Bohemia, and then died of an apoplexy, having lived fifty-seven years, reigned twenty-two as Emperor, and-forty one as King of Bohemia.

Robert, or Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, was surnamed the Short, or the Debonair. He was crown'd by the Archbishop of Cologne, in his own metropolitan church; the city of Aix refusing to admit him, on pretence that they were not discharged from their oath to Wenceslaus. Hereupon they were put to the ban of the Empire, and misused till they had done homage to Robert. This Emperor bent his study to heal the breaches in the Empire, made by his two predecessors, and to reclaim the estates which they had alienated. After holding a diet in this view at Frankfort, he raised an army to march into Italy, in order to reduce John Galeas, who from Governor, had been made Duke of Milan. He advanced to the city of Brescia; where Galeas met him, and, having a good body of horse, got the advantage over him in every skirmish, till his Imperial majesty was oblig'd to return into Germany. One reason of this was, that the States of the Empire did not supply him with vigour; having been seduced by the Elector of Mentz, who not only withheld his ecclesiasticks from paying their tenths, but alienated from their duty most of the laity. This Elector had built a castle at Hochst, contrary to the Emperor's will; which, added to the other provocations, determin'd his Imperial majesty, in 1410, to make war upon him: But he was prevented by death, which overtook him at Oppenheim, after he had reigned near ten years.

Jodocus, Marquis of Moravia, was next elected; but lived so short a time, that he did not

Jodocus,  
1410.



get himself acknowledged in form; and therefore is seldom found in the catalogue of Emperors.

Sigismund 1411. Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, and son of Charles IV, had reigned 27 years in Hungary, when he was called to the Imperial dignity. He obtained the crown of Hungary by marrying Mary, eldest daughter and heiress of King Lewis, who was sovereign both of Poland and Hungary. Hedgwig, his other daughter, marrying Jagello Great duke of Lithuania, became Queen of Poland after her father's death. Sigismund was not yet married when Lewis died, being then but fifteen years of age; but he resided at the court of Buda, where the deceased King's intentions were fully known. Mary, his future spouse, took upon her the government therefore, under the regency of her mother Queen Elizabeth; and the ministry of Nicolas Gare, great master of the palace. This minister became so arrogant, that he disgusted all the nobility with his royal mistress, and at the same time gave the Queen ill impressions of the nobility; who at last, tired with their yoke, sent the Bishop of Zagabria to Charles de Duras, King of Naples, a relation of the young Queen's, to offer him their crown. Charles accepted the proposal, and set out to take possession of his new dignity, designing to prevent Sigismund's marriage, by giving Mary to his own son Ladislaus. But Elizabeth, hearing of this, immediately consummated her daughter's nuptials, and sent away the bridegroom to his brother Wenceslaus, in Bohemia. She and the young Queen remain'd at Buda, and, as it was not in their power to make resistance, receiv'd King Charles with well-dissembled honours and approbation.

Charles

Charles was crown'd King of Hungary on the last day of the year 1386 : But the nobility and people soon grew weary of their change, and began to speak again in favour of the Queens ; who still amused the new King, and assured him that Sigismund would make him a resignation of his rights. By this dissimulation they, and the Palatine Gare, got him one day in their power, at an entertainment ; when a man, who was introduced on purpose, went behind his chair, and clove down his head. Elizabeth then establish'd herself in her former authority, and few persons discover'd any regret for the murder : Only Hiornard, intendant of Croatia, who had been put in that place by King Charles, took revenge for it in the following manner :

The Queens, with their court, were going to Lower Hungary, when the intendant, with a large body of men, who lay in ambush for that purpose, surrounded and surpriz'd them all. The Croats massacred Gare, and the person who did the murder, dragg'd the Queen-mother by the hair before the intendant, and, after making her ask pardon for consenting to it, drown'd her in the rivulet of Rosen. As for the young Queen, they shut her up in a dismal dungeon.

Sigismund hearing the particulars of this catastrophe, immediately set out for Hungary with a considerable army, and was received with open arms by the nobility, and the other States of the kingdom. Mean while Hiornard, dreading the consequence of this revolution, gave Queen Mary her liberty, upon condition that she should ensure his life, office, and estate. The Queen promised, and was conducted safe to her husband at Buda. But Sigismund did not think himself bound from executing justice by her promise, and therefore the intendant, and all his

accomplices, were seiz'd and executed at Funf-kirken.

Upon his  
wife's  
death  
grows  
cruel.

Some years after, as he was returning from Walachia, Sigismund heard that his Queen was suddenly dead. His concern on this occasion was so great, that he shut himself up for some time, and in the midst of his grief took a violent resolution against those noblemen, who had sent for King Charles, in order to deprive her of her birth-right. Without taking the advice of his council, he commissioned one colonel Weidassen to seize thirty-two of them; who behaving haughtily upon being brought before him, were all beheaded upon the spot. As they were every one men of merit, and eminent for former services, their execution alienated the minds of the other great men, who took up arms, one after another, against their King, whom they decry'd as a tyrant.

Is worsted,  
imprisoned,  
restored, and  
reforms.

BAJAZET, Sultan of the Turks, being invited by the malecontents, thought to take advantage of these diversions, and in 1396 began that bloody war which was so fatal to Hungary, by the loss of Nicopolis, the defeat of Sigismund, and the slaughter of half the nobility of the kingdom. Which misfortune, instead of making him apply to the re-establishment of his affairs, had a quite contrary effect on Sigismund: For he gave himself up to pleasures, and grew more and more burthensome to his people, till at last, in 1410, they seiz'd his person, and committed it to the keeping of the Garry's, two brothers, whose father was one of the thirty-two executed noblemen. They us'd his Majesty very severely: But their mother being yet alive, and Sigismund being handsome and eloquent, he so wrought on her, that she persuaded her sons to let him escape. The King retired into Bohemia, rais'd  
another



another army, re-enter'd Hungary, made the provinces all submit to him, and after this, behav'd with much goodness and clemency all the remainder of his days.

The German Princes, no doubt, had heard of this reformation, or they would hardly, the very next year, have elected him head of their body. He was in Hungary when this news was brought him, and immediately resolved to confirm the good opinion that had been entertained of him, by re-establishing the affairs of the Empire. He quitted the electorate of Brandenburg, in favour of Frederick, Burgrave of Nuremberg, a prince of great merit, from whom the present King of Prussia is descended. Frederick paid him 400,000 Florins, and right of redemption was reserved to his Imperial majesty. Sigismund had next a dispute with the Venetians, about some territories in Dalmatia; which having adjusted, he marched into Lombardy, and with the papal Legates concerted the calling a general council, in order to heal the divisions then broke out in religion, and especially to stop the reformation in Bohemia. This was the famous council of Constance, which met on the first of November, 1414. The same year died Ladislaus, King of Naples, who had three times taken possession of Rome, and projected the becoming master of all Italy. By his death Italy was left in peace, and the Pope, the Cardinals, and the other Prelates, had full liberty to pass and repass to the council.

Having settled the affairs of this meeting, Sigismund went into Germany, and was crown'd at Aix la Chapelle. He then repaired to Constance, and assisted as Deacon at a grand mass, where Pope John XXIII officiated pontifically. There were at this time two other Popes, by the

Chosen  
Emperor,  
calls a  
council.

Three  
Popes re-  
sign, and  
a new one  
chose.

the names of Gregory XII and Benedict XIII; who, as well as John, were persuaded to resign their dignity, or be deposed from it: After which the council proceeded to the choice of another, and fix'd on Otho Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V.

Death of  
John Hus,  
and Je-  
rom of  
Prague.

John Hus, the Bohemian, and his pupil Jerom of Prague, had been summoned to Rome by the Pope, to give an account of their doctrines, and both refused to obey: But, being now cited to justify themselves before the council, and receiving the Emperor's safe conduct for the security of their persons, they did not hesitate to appear, and give the reasons of what they had preach'd and taught. It was a reproach to the Emperor's honour, and a violation of the most sacred engagement, that the fathers were suffer'd to pronounce sentence against them, as guilty of heresy and sedition, and to burn them publickly in the city of Constance. Hus was the first who suffer'd, being executed the sixth of July, 1415. Jerom, it was said, did at the first retract; but boldly professing the same doctrine again, he was burnt the next year. The council broke up on the twenty second of April, 1418, after forty seven sessions,

Progress  
of the  
Hussites.

But the death of their chief Pastors, in this faithless manner, did not stop the progress of the gospel among the Bohemians. They took up arms in defence of their religion, under the conduct of one John Zisca, who gained innumerable advantages against the catholic troops. Wenceslaus dying in 1419, Sigismund succeeded him in his kingdom, and in 1420 employ'd against the Hussites an army he had raised against the Turks; but had such ill success in this, and all his future expeditions against them, that he was at last, notwithstanding his own zeal for the  
papal

papal authority, constrain'd to grant them peace, and great part of what they desired for liberty of conscience, and the exercise of their religion. Zisca dying in 1424, while the treaty was in hand, his soldiers made a drum-head of his skin, which they said was alone sufficient to terrify their enemies.

The Knights of the Teutonic order, about this time, having left a good part of Prussia to the Poles, were assisted by Sigismund against the Hussites on their side: For these people fell at once upon Hungary, Poland, and Austria, carrying all before them. Pope Martin, astonish'd at their progress, publish'd a Crusade against them, and excited the German Princes to enter into it: And that each Prince and State might contribute proportionably, the Emperor made a regulation at Nuremberg, which was the first of the kind, ascertaining the quota of every one, not only on the present, but on all future occasions. A vast army was thus raised, consisting of 40,000 horse, and as many foot, under Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg: But the Crusaders had no better success than the Imperial troops, being all struck with a panick at the sight of the Hussites, flying with the utmost precipitation, and leaving behind them all their baggage and riches, in which was the Legate's crucifix.

In consequence of this ill success, a council was summon'd at Basil, where the Prelates assembled treated with the chief of the Hussites, who had now assum'd the name of Taborites, from the city of Tabor, a strong fortress built by Zisca. It happen'd luckily for Sigismund, that while they were in treaty with the catholics, these people fell out among themselves, the Barons making war upon, and defeating the opposite

A Crusade against them.

A Pacification.



opposite party at Pilsen. Soon after which, the nation unanimously acknowledged Sigismund for lawful heir to his brother Wenceslaus, and swore fidelity to him accordingly. He was crowned at Prague the twenty fourth of August, 1439, seventeen years after the death of his brother.

**Death of Sigismund** Soon after his coronation, he began again to use violence, in order to oblige some of the heads of the protestants to renounce their religion : Which proceedings, in a great measure, reviv'd the Bohemians hatred against his person. At last, not being able to live among a people, with whom he had no ties of affection, his Majesty resolved to spend the latter part of his life in ease, and in order to that, to retire into Hungary. But as, in his way thither, he paid a visit to his daughter, who lived at Znaim in Moravia, he was taken ill, and died there, December the ninth, 1473, in the seventieth year of his age.

**His character.**

This Emperor had a fine shape, was liberal and learned, a lover of men of letters, and master of several languages ; and, what is very uncommon in a Sovereign, a mortal enemy to flatterers. He used to say, “ that they were  
 “ worse than ravens ; because those birds only  
 “ us'd to pick out the eyes of dead men,  
 “ whereas flatterers pick them out of the li-  
 “ ving.”

**Issue.**

After the death of his first wife, Mary Queen of Hungary, Sigismund married Barbara-Elizabeth, daughter to Herman Count of Cilley, by whom he had Elizabeth, wife to Albert Duke of Austria, his successor in the empire, and in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. Thus did two potent kingdoms, by a single marriage, devolve to this fortunate house ;

as

as did also the Imperial crown, of which, from this period, it ever after kept possession, till the demise of the late Emperor Charles VI.



# C H A P. IV.

The reigns of ALBERT II, FREDERICK III,  
and MAXIMILIAN I.

**A**LBERT the Grave, call'd also Albert II, the Magnanimous, was the son of 1438. Albert of Austria, surnamed the Wonder of the World. Like his ancestor Rodolph, he was a peculiar favourite of fortune. His marriage with Sigismund's daughter, and the great reputation he had acquired by his own personal merit, raised him, in the space of one year, to three crowns. Obtains For on the first of January, pursuant to his father-in-law's will, he was proclaimed King of Hungary and Bohemia. On the sixth of May following, conformably to an agreement between the houses of Bohemia and Austria, that the crown of the former, in default of lawful issue, should descend to the latter, the wiser part of the States elected him their King. There was another party who chose Casimir, brother to the King of Poland, and crown'd him at Prague. But this occasion'd only a short dispute: Albert defeated and dispersed the Polish troops, and was left in quiet possession of the whole kingdom, except one or two places, which held out for his competitor.

He

Is chosen  
Emperor.

He was upon this expedition when news came from Frankfort, that the Electors had chosen him Emperor there on the twenty-sixth of June: But he was obliged to conceal the affair, till he had obtain'd leave of the States of Hungary to accept the election; the refusal of which, if made, was the condition on which they gave him their crown. However, on the instance of the Imperial electors, they gave their consent. But this prosperity was of short continuance; for Amurath, Sultan of the Turks, invading Hungary, and laying siege to Sideravia, Albert, who had before signalized himself against the Mussulmen, marched his army to oppose them. But the weather being excessive hot, he was seized with a dysentery at Buda, and died in attempting to return to Vienna, at the village of Longo, October 26, 1439. He left his Empress with child of a son, who was afterwards named Ladislaus. She had before brought him two daughters, one married to the King of Poland, and the other to the Duke of Saxony. It was about this time, when the house of Austria made this great figure, that the art of printing was invented in Germany.

Frederick  
III, 1440.

FREDERICK the Peaceable, cousin german to Albert, succeeded him in the empire on the 30th of March, 1440, being twenty-five years of age. He began with making good laws for the civil government and coinage, and refused the crown of Bohemia, which was offer'd him by the States; declaring he would preserve it for young Ladislaus, his nephew and pupil, heir to both that and the crown of Hungary. The affairs of Bohemia, in the mean time, were manag'd by George Podiebrac, and those of Hungary by Uladislaus King of Poland.

Uladislaus  
regent of  
Hungary.

This monarch, at the first, behaved himself very gloriously against the Turks, and made a  
truce



truce with Sultan Amurath, giving him a consecrated host as a pledge of his observation of it. Authors make it a judgment on him for the infraction of this treaty, that he was slain in a battle soon after against the same prince, who had securely turn'd his arms another way, upon the good faith of Uladislaus: But they say at the same time, that the Turks lost 30,000 men, and the Hungarians but 11000; and that Uladislaus ow'd the loss of his life purely to his own rashness and precipitation.

John Huniades, captain-general of Hungary, John succeeded the King of Poland in the govern-<sup>Huniades</sup>ment thereof. He had all the difficulty in the <sup>succeeds</sup> world to support the staggering fortune of that <sup>him.</sup> kingdom: But at last, thro' his conduct and bravery, he so well re-establish'd affairs, that he became the terror of the Ottoman army. He had the administration in his hands eleven years, from 1445 to 1456, when he died of a fever contracted in the heat of an obstinate battle, in which he oblig'd Sultan Mahomet to raise the siege of Belgrade, leaving 40,000 men dead on the spot. In this action he commanded the united forces of the christian Princes, who, in the utmost consternation at the progress of the Turkish army, had sent their troops to his assistance. And before this, the Hungarians demanding their King of the Emperor, and the regalia of their kingdom; upon Frederick's refusal they enter'd Austria under Huniades, surprized his Imperial majesty at Neustadt, and forced him to their own conditions. I must not omit that Constantinople, the seat of the Eastern empire for so many centuries, was taken during this period, anno 1453, by Sultan Mahomet I; when the Emperor, Constantine Paleologus, was put to the sword, with  
all

all his party, and the Turks began to grow more than ever formidable.

The crowns of Bohemia and Hungary goes from the house of Austria.

King Ladislaus dying at Prague in 1457, the Hungarians chose Matthias Corvinus, son of the brave Huniades, to be their King: And George Podiebrac, at the same time, obtain'd the crown of Bohemia, the dignity of which he supported during the minority of his late master; so that the power of the Austrian family, late so prodigious, was confin'd again, for the present, within its antient narrow bounds. Even its hereditary dominions were harrafs'd by intestine wars; the Emperor Frederick being opposed by his brother Albert the Prodigal, and his cousin Sigismund Count of Tirol. He got the best of them however at last, and thought himself happy in tranquility, and the birth of his son Maximilian; when the people of Vienna, instigated by the defeated Princes, took up arms against him, besieged him in the castle of that capital, and reduced him, his Empress, and young son, to the necessity of perishing with hunger, if they had not been relieved by George King of Bohemia.

Frederick still unsuccessful.

Frederick, after this, made some weak efforts to recover Hungary, and refused to deliver up the regalia to Corvinus: But at last, being continually alarm'd by the incursions of the Turks, and the common danger of Christendom, he made the tour of Italy in the winter of 1467, to concert measures with the Pope against the infidels. All their conferences, however, came to nothing; for Frederick hearing that Corvinus took advantage of his absence, and made inroads upon his territories, he return'd into Germany with expedition. Nor did the ambition of Charles Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, give him less uneasiness: For that Prince, who, to the vast estates his father had left him, had added Gelderland

Gelderland and Zutphen, conceived the design of getting the regal dignity in his own territories, and besides of being elected King of the Romans. Frederick, who designed the last dignity for his own son, prevented the success of his negotiations with the Electors; but gave Charles a meeting at Treves, to treat about the other affair. The Duke had prepared all the necessary regal ornaments, and probably had gain'd his purpose, by giving his daughter Mary to young Maximilian, if Lewis XI, King of France, had not work'd up a jealousy between these two Princes, which made the Emperor leave Treves abruptly. This so irritated Charles, that he carried his arms into the Empire, under the pretence of assisting Robert Count Palatine, who claim'd the archbishoprick of Cologne: But in 1476, going to besiege Nancy in Lorraine, he received a mortal wound, of which he died the next morning.

Charles, by his continual wars, had so ruin'd his troops, drain'd his treasury, and tired his subjects, that, upon his death, the states bent their thoughts upon marrying his daughter, now their sovereign, to some prince capable of protecting them. Lewis XI, King of France, demanded her for the Dauphin his son, and the Emperor for Prince Maximilian: But the former, by the conquests he had made on them, had given them such disgust, that they chose rather to listen to Frederick. Tho' Maximilian was but eighteen years of age, the nuptials were solemnized the next August. They lived together about six years, when the Duchess died in child-birth, leaving two children, Philip and Margaret. Maximilian, after this, had great contests with the States of the Netherlands, which I shall relate particularly when I come to

Aggrandizes his family by his son's marriage.

F

his



his life. His father, the Emperor, assisted him in them; got him elected King of the Romans, put the Duke of Cleves to the ban of the Empire in his behalf, and left him the Imperial crown 1493, having worn it fifty-nine years. Frederick died in peace, as he always wished to have lived, at Lintz in Austria, having greatly aggrandized his house by the marriage of his son. It is said of him, that he never swore but twice in his life; when he took his coronation oath at Aken, and when he was crown'd afterwards at Rome.

Maximilian I,  
1493.

I must go back a little to the former part of his life, in order to give the history of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN; and relate, that immediately after his marriage, he gain'd a battle against the French near Terouene, and established the affairs of the Low-countries, which had suffered much from the army of Lewis XI; and that upon the death of his wife, her relations differ'd with him about the guardianship of his son, they claiming it as belonging to the ducal family, and he as father; that upon this quarrel, he had a three years war with the States, especially with those of Ghent and Bruges, assisted by the French King. He continued the war with that monarch, after he had made peace with his own people; and in 1486 he met the Emperor his father at Frankfort, where he was elected King of the Romans: But bringing back with him a large body of Imperial troops, which his father had no occasion for, to assist him in the French war; the ravages they made in Flanders so irritated the States, that they seized his person at Bruges, and had him guarded in the castle, under pretence that he designed to make himself master of their liberties. They also put to death several of his counsellors, and those who were suspected to fa-  
vour

your his project ; but at last, after ten weeks confinement, they set him at liberty by a treaty, which he promised religiously to observe.

The Emperor Frederick, being inform'd of his son's imprisonment, was marching to his assistance with a good army of Germans. Maximilian met him in Brabant, attended by the Princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, Brunswick, Hesse, Baden, and others, who joined to persuade the King not to accept of a forced peace, nor to suffer the publication of it. They would have drawn over the Duke of Cleves to their party ; but the Duke refusing, gave occasion for the Emperor, in a solemn manner, to put him to the Imperial ban, declaring him a traitor, and his dominions and honours forfeited. In short, it was not till the year 1489 that the Netherlands had peace, when Charles VIII, King of France, enter'd into treaty with Maximilian, whose daughter Margaret had been educated at the French court. Charles was betrothed to this Princess ; but not liking her as she grew up, and preferring to her the heiress of Bretagne, in order to unite that province to his crown, he took this gentle method of a treaty with her father to send her home, that he might be left at liberty in his choice.

As Maximilian had been crown'd King of the Romans in his father's life-time, he was received Emperor without any contest, immediately after the obsequies of the deceased. The beginning of his reign was disturb'd by a great incursion made by the Turks into Croatia, which he thought himself obliged to oppose. For that purpose he raised a powerful army in Austria, and advanced to meet them with great expedition : But the invaders, surprized at the news of his coming, fled shamefully before him, and left

Violates a  
peace he  
had made.

The Em-  
peror in  
1493 puts  
the Turks  
in a panic.

him at liberty immediately to disband his troops, and apply himself to the domestic affairs of the empire. Soon after, at the instance of the Princes, he married Blanch-Mary, sister to John-Galeas Duke of Milan, and the most beautiful woman of her time. Lewis Sforza, who had been governor of Milan under the Duke, and now possessed the sovereignty by usurpation, did all in his power to promote this marriage, and in return was complimented with the investiture of the duchy by the Emperor.

A diet at  
Worms.

Charles, King of France, found pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and had undertaken to subdue it: Which occasioned Maximilian to call a diet at Worms, to debate whether or no he should oppose the French King, or march against the Turks. Neither the one nor the other was resolved on; all the attention of the diet being turned to domestic affairs. A decree for preserving the peace of the empire; the fixing of the Imperial chamber at Worms, which before follow'd the Emperor's court, and was afterwards settled at Spire; and the erection of the county of Wirtemberg into a duchy, in favour of Count Frederick, and of the duchy of Austria into an arch-duchy; were the chief transactions of this assembly.

Philip of  
Austria  
married to  
the heiress  
of Spain.

A marriage having been proposed between his son Philip, then eighteen years of age, and the infanta Jane, one of the daughters of Ferdinand of Arragon, and Isabella of Castile, he was desirous of seeing it accomplished. This infanta had before her the infant John, who was married some months after to Margaret, Philip's sister, and the infanta Isabella, wife to Emanuel King of Portugal: Yet, contrary to all probability, by the death of this brother and sister, and all their children, she became sole heiress of the



the kingdom of Spain. This alliance, therefore, was even more advantageous to the house of Austria, than was that of Maximilian with the heirs of Burgundy.

Lewis Duke of Orleans succeeded Charles King of France, and pretended to have an incontestable right to the Duchy of Milan, as being heir to René Count of Provence. To make good his claim he resolved to pass the Alps, and wrest it out of the hands of Lewis Sforza.

This Duke had recourse to the assistance of Maximilian; who intended to have supported him, but was diverted by a new war kindled in Gelderland. Arnold Egmont, Duke of Gelderland, in consideration of services done him against his son, had ceded his duchy to Charles the last Duke of Burgundy, on condition of his advancing him 92,000 crowns, and allowing him the whole revenue during life. Upon the death of him and his son, the Dukes Mary, and after her Maximilian, as guardian to his son, endeavoured to maintain their claim to this duchy, and to make it part of the dominions of the house of Burgundy: But Charles Egmont, grandson of Arnold, supported himself in a part of it, as long as he lived, in spite of the power of the Austrian family, and the judgment of the Princes of the Empire. Whilst Maximilian was engaged in this war, he was obliged to come to an agreement with this competitor, in order to oppose the Swiss, who had begun to make incursions into the Austrian territories. This quarrel increased to such fury, that in several battles there fell about 30,000 men, most of them on the side of the Swiss: But at last, by the mediation of other powers, Maximilian granted them a peace, which was much to his own advantage.

Contests  
about the  
Duchy of  
Milan.

While the Emperor was most engaged in this war with the Swifs, Lewis XII was willing to take advantage of this opportunity, to possess himself of the Duchy of Milan. To this end, he raised a formidable army, which he sent into Lombardy the same year, where, with the assistance of the Venetians, they conquer'd almost all the Duchy in less than twenty days, and at last obliged Duke Lewis to retire into Germany, with his family, and what he could carry away. Hereupon the French King, who waited at Lions for the success of his arms, marched directly to the city of Milan, and made there a solemn entry : But after a residence of some time, he return'd to his own kingdom. Nor was it long before the Duke of Milan, assisted by the Emperor, recover'd that city with as much ease as the French King had won it : But fortune did not favour him long ; for the Swifs, who compos'd the majority of his army, refused to fight ; but on the contrary, deliver'd up the Duke to the French, who sent him prisoner into France, where he died dispossessed of his dominions. Lewis XII, after this, continued in possession, and in order to preserve himself therein, engaged by treaty to give his daughter Claude in marriage to Charles the grandson of Maximilian, when the two parties should arrive at a proper age.

The boors  
revolt.

In 1502 the German boors made a formidable insurrection, in order to throw off the yoke of their lords, and make themselves a free republic, after the example of the Swifs. They were at length reduc'd ; but not without a powerful army.

More wars  
about the  
Duchy of  
Milan.

Maximilian, though he had agreed with the French King about the Duchy of Milan, could not forgive the assistance the Venetians had lent him to subdue it. He resolved therefore, in a diet

diet held at Constance, to make war on them, and engaged Pope Julius II, and the Kings of France and Spain, to assist him in it. The French King, as well as Maximilian, saw with regret several cities of the Duchy of Milan, and other parts of Lombardy, in the hands of that republic: And the success of this war was so great, that Maximilian on one side, Lewis XII on another, and Pope Julius upon his own borders, seiz'd what was most convenient for them. But it was not long that they kept it, the Venetians finding means to draw off the King of Spain and the Pope from the alliance, and becoming more powerful than ever. Maximilian, in the mean time, had work enough on his hands with the Duke of Gelderland; and the King of France, left alone against a formidable alliance, and being attacked the other way by Henry VIII, King of England, was soon forc'd to abandon the Duchy of Milan; though his general, Gaston de Foix, had won a signal victory near Ravenna.

Ferdinand, King of Castile and Arragon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself <sup>subdued, a</sup> master of the kingdom of Navarre, in prejudice <sup>peace;</sup> of the house of Albret. As he had no other <sup>and a new</sup> title to hold it, he procured a bull from the <sup>marriage.</sup> Pope, which bore date after the invasion. And in 1513 Lewis XII dying, his successor, Francis I made peace with the Emperor; who soon after married his grand-daughter, the Infanta Mary, to Lewis, the eldest son of Ladislaus King of Hungary. But both parties being yet too young, the consummation of their marriage was for the present deferr'd. All this while Maximilian was providing for that future grandure of his family, which soon after dazzled the eyes of all Europe.



Milan a-  
gain in the  
hands  
of the  
French.

But in a very short time, 1515, he was himself alarm'd by the progress of Francis, his ally; who, soon after, recover'd the whole Milanese, and obtain'd the cession of it from Duke Sforza, in consideration of a pension during life. He then made a league with Pope Leo X; the effect of which was, that the Emperor, at the head of 30,000 men, march'd into Italy. He did nothing but block up Milan for some months; and was then call'd into Germany, to attend the sickness of Ladislaus King of Hungary, and to send his grandson Charles, at that time in the Netherlands, to take possession of the crown of Spain, which had just before devolved to him by the death of Ferdinand.

Rise of  
the refor-  
mation in  
Germany.

It was in the reign of this Emperor, Anno 1517, that Lutheranism had its first rise in Germany. Leo X, to raise money for the completing the Church of St Peter, issued out plenary indulgences, at a certain price, for all ranks and degrees of persons. The Dominicans, who had the charge to disperse them, preached up their merit in such an extravagant manner, that all thinking people were scandaliz'd: And the Augustins in particular, angry that they were not employed in the same office, took upon them to refute what the Dominicans had advanced. John Stulpitz, vicar general of the Augustins, was the first to expose the ridicule of these indulgences: He was joined by Martin Luther, the most able doctor in the university of Wirtemberg, who propos'd these, against those who distributed them. John Thetzel, in behalf of the Pope, set up a counter battery at Frankfort upon Oder; where, in quality of Inquisitor, he caus'd Luther's writings to be burnt. Which made the Augustin, a warm enterprizing man, more zealous in defence of what he had writ; and his disciples,

in

in their turns, burnt the works of the Dominicans at Wirtemberg. Both parties thus growing exasperated, the Dominicans solicited the Pope to condemn their opponents; and Leo, giving way to their remonstrances, summoned Luther to appear at Rome. They at the same time importun'd the Emperor, that he would exert his authority against the new doctrine: But the King of Hungary being dead, and the guardianship of that kingdom for young Lewis devolving on him, that, and the conclusion of an agreement with the King of France, employed his Imperial majesty for the present. However, the next year, he summon'd a diet at Augsburg, whither Luther, who had refused to appear at Rome, came, and defended his doctrine before Cardinal Cajetan, the legate. The cardinal press'd him to retract, which Luther would not; and both parties being inflexible, this meeting instead of repairing did but widen the breach already made in religion. Luther retired in the night, for fear of being seiz'd, and appeal'd from the legate to the Pope: He was protected by the Elector of Saxony, who had writ to Rome in his favour.

At the end of this diet, on the 12th of January 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died of a fever, and was buried soon after at Neustadt. He was a handsome prince, very sober, and so modest, that none of his attendants ever saw him naked. In his infancy he was subject to many infirmities, and till he was nine or ten years of age, many doubted if he would not be a natural, or at least, dumb all his life-time: But this defect was so corrected in his advanc'd years, that he was admir'd for his eloquence in speaking diverse languages. He was a lover of letters, and a favourer of all who profess'd them; had a lively

Death and character of the Emperor Maximilian.

lively imagination, an agreeable wit, and a good talent in poetry. He left behind him several works, particularly a poem, in his own tongue, upon his various expeditions. His memory was so prodigious, that he hardly forgot any man's name, tho' he had heard it but once in his life ; or his person, if he had once seen him. Patient in enduring fatigues, brave in his person, liberal, magnificent, courteous and affable to all the world, no wonder that he was universally beloved. He introduced large muskets into the military discipline, and pikes eighteen foot long. He also establish'd new martial laws and decrees, which subsist to this day.

His issue. By this second wife, Blanch-Mary Sforza, he left no children : Nor was any one but Margaret living, of those he had by Mary of Burgundy. I have mentioned the betrothing of this Princess to Charles VIII King of France, and his rejection of her for the heiress of Bretagne : She was afterwards married to the Infant John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella ; and, being left a widow, soon after to Philebert Duke of Savoy, who died without consummating the marriage. In 1513 she was made Governess of the Low-Countries, during the minority of her nephew Charles. Her brother Philip, the father of Charles, and who married Jane, the heiress of Spain, died twelve years before his father, leaving six children ; Charles, born September the twenty-third, 1500, who succeeded both his grandfathers ; Ferdinand, born the tenth of March 1503, who became Emperor on his brother's resignation ; Eleonora, married first to Emanuel King of Portugal, by whom she had one daughter, and afterwards to Francis I, of France, by whom she had no children ; Isabella, wife to Christian King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway,




way, who was driven out of his dominions on account of his tyranny ; Mary, married to Lewis King of Hungary, who left her without issue ; and Catherine, a posthumous child, who, after being promised to the Electoral Prince of Saxony, was refused him, upon his turning protestant, and given to John III King of Portugal, who got divorced from her, and sent her back to Austria. The children of Christian and Isabella were Dorothy, consort to Frederick the Pious, Elector Palatine, and Christina, married first to Francis Duke of Milan, and afterwards to Francis Duke of Lorrain ; from which latter alliance the Princes of that house are descended. It was necessary to be thus particular in the alliances of this family, as the understanding of much of the ensuing part of our history depends on them.



## CHAP. V.

The reign of CHARLES V, King of Spain and Emperor.

N interregnum of almost six <sup>1519.</sup> months succeeded Maximilian's death, when CHARLES V, Archduke of Austria, and Lord of the Low-countries, in right of his father ; and King of Spain, Sicily, and Naples by his mother ; united the majority of the suffrages of the Electors. He had already been proposed for his successor in the diet of Augsburg, by the deceased Emperor, his Grandfather : But he had for

for a competitor Francis I, King of France, who having form'd a design to add the Imperial crown to his own, had made use of various arts to that end, even during Maximilian's life; and immediately after his decease, sent the sum of 400,000 crowns, to secure the good will of the Electors.

These princes, foreseeing many inconveniencies in chusing either of these competitors, at first thought proper to offer the empire to Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony: But that Prince refusing it, and giving his vote for Charles, he was seconded by the Archbishop of Mentz, who was follow'd by all the rest of his colleagues, except the Elector of Treves. It was an obstacle to Francis that he was neither born in Germany, nor of German extraction; and being bred up in an absolute monarchy, they apprehended he would change the constitution of the Empire, and reduce the Princes to a level with the dukes and peers of France. The election of Charles was at Frankfort, the 28th of June, 1519. As he was then in Spain, the Elector Palatine was dispatch'd to him with the news. He embark'd on board a fleet in May, 1520, and going by the way of Flanders, was crown'd at Aix la Chapelle the 21st of October following. Then leaving that city, on account of the plague, he went to Cologne, whence he dispatch'd orders throughout the Empire, to convene the states at Worms on the sixth of January.

The diet  
of Worms.

In this diet the Emperor, to prevent the growth of a diversity of religions, publish'd very rigorous edicts against Luther, after having heard him in full assembly. On this occasion, some advis'd him to follow the example of Sigismund, at the council of Constance, and not keep the word he had given to that doctor, un-

der

der the protection of which he appear'd at the diet: But Charles would never consent to this declaring: "That if honour were to be banish'd  
" the world, the palaces of Princes ought to give  
" it refuge." He put him, however, to the ban of the Empire, by a decree, which was never executed, because his followers carried him off upon the road, and conducted him into the territories of the Duke of Saxony, his protector.

The next year there was a diet at Nuremberg, <sup>The diet of Nuremberg.</sup> where the Emperor made that famous constitution for dividing the Empire into ten circles, and several other regulations. And receiving advice, that his presence was absolutely necessary in Spain, on the advancement of Cardinal Adrian Florissen his prime minister to the popedom; before he left the assembly, he constituted the Archduke Ferdinand, his brother, lieutenant-general of the Empire in his absence. <sup>1523.</sup> Ferdinand, being invested with this power, began to execute it by ordering the decree of the assembly at Worms, and the Bull of Leo X against Luther, to be put in force, and the two religions to be reunited. But the Lutheran party growing stronger every day, the Legate prevail'd on the Catholic Princes to form an assembly at Ratibon, where a league was concluded between them, whereby they obliged themselves to execute the decree of Worms; to make no change in religion; to drive the Lutherans out of their territories, and to deprive them of all their benefices. But this union did not check the reformation, which spread beyond the Baltick sea, thro' the disposition of Christiern, who was depriv'd of Denmark and Norway by his uncle Frederick, <sup>The kingdoms in the North turn Lutheran.</sup> Duke of Holstein, and of Sweden by Gustavus Vasa. Both these Princes introduced Lutheranism into their new dominions, immediately after they had



had subdued them. It spread yet farther into Lower Germany, as well as into Livonia and Prussia, where Albert of Brandenburg, Grand-master of the Teutonic Order, embraced the new religion.

FRANCIS I, in the mean time, push'd on his conquests in Italy, and had laid siege to Pavia: But the constable, Charles of Bourbon, happening to fall into disgrace, enter'd, in revenge, into a treaty with the Emperor, and joined the Viceroy of Naples; which done, they marched at the head of their united forces to the relief of the place. The King gave them battle, which he lost, was taken prisoner the 24<sup>th</sup> of February, 1525, and conducted soon after into Spain. Tho' the French were earnest for the delivery of their King, the Emperor caused the negotiation to last till the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1526, when a treaty was sign'd at Madrid, where Francis was prisoner. The King was to be set at liberty the 13<sup>th</sup> of March ensuing, on condition that his sons should remain hostages till the treaty was fulfill'd; and that, if it were not done in six weeks after, he should be oblig'd to return himself prisoner. Accordingly the children of France were exchanged, and conducted into Spain, at the same time that Francis was set at liberty.

The Landgrave and country of Hesse turn Lutherans. Luther's opinions still insinuated themselves into the most considerable cities in Germany; and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, through the solicitation of John Elector of Saxony, having embraced these opinions, introduced them into his dominions.

The diet of Spire. These changes of religion, and the extremity to which the Turk had reduced Lewis King of Hungary, prevail'd on Ferdinand to convene a diet at Spire, wherein he propos'd to take into consideration both the state of religious affairs, and

and that of Hungary. As to the first point, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector of Saxony, insisted so strongly on the freedom of their own states, that they were obliged, by a clause in the decree, to allow each Prince liberty of conscience, till the calling of a council. As to the second point, the religious affairs had been so long contested, that they prevented any resolutions being taken; inasmuch, that we shall see the young King of Hungary left to perish.

In this conjuncture, one thing prov'd favourable to the establishment of Lutheranism; which was a misunderstanding between the Pope and the Emperor, on account of a league made by the former with the King of France, the republics of Venice and Florence, and the Swiss cantons, to drive the Spaniards out of Italy, who at that time kept Duke Sforza besieged in the castle of Milan.

A Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor.

The Emperor, in revenge to the Pope, press'd him strongly to call the council; protesting that, if he deferr'd it, he would make use of his Imperial authority to apply a remedy. He also sent the Duke of Bourbon into Italy, as his vanguard, to oppose the league, having first given him the investiture of the duchy of Milan. To favour this expedition, the Archduke sent likewise a strong re-inforcement into Italy.

The Duke of Bourbon returns into Italy.

Charles of Bourbon, seeing himself invested with the command of an army of 40,000 men, travers'd all Italy, in order to attack the confederates. At whose approach, Pope Clement being alarm'd, hearkened more willingly to the solicitations of the Emperor's ministers, who were with him in private. But that he might give the confederates no suspicion, he would only consent to a truce for eight months, which he concluded with De Lanoy, Viceroy of Naples.

In

The Pope  
disbands  
his troops,  
but re-  
pents.

1527.

In compliance with this truce, the Pontif re-  
stor'd the places he had taken in Naples; and  
disbanded his troops, that he might spare an  
expeuce to which he was naturally an enemy.  
This he repented, but too late, when he was in-  
form'd that the Duke of Bourbon continued his  
march. He was then obliged to join the league  
again, and would no more give ear to any  
propofals. He thought that either the confede-  
rate army, being at the heels of the Duke of  
Bourbon, would harrafs his troops in their march,  
or that he would waste his force in the siege of  
some considerable city; not imagining, that after  
he had writ him very respectful letters, he had  
any intention to come and force him in Rome.  
However, the Duke arriv'd before that city the  
morning following, and gave orders for an  
assault, under the favour of a pretty thick mist.

Rome  
sack'd,  
and the  
Duke of  
Bourbon  
killed.

Twice were his troops vigorously repuls'd at a  
breach; whereat he was so enrag'd, that he took  
a resolution to scale the walls: But in advancing  
was kill'd by a musket-ball in his right groin.  
The officers, who saw him fall, animated with  
fury, scaled the walls; the soldiers following with  
so much resolution, that the city was taken; and  
the Spaniards, tho' but a small number, put all  
the Roman troops they met with to the sword.  
The rest of the army being enter'd, the city was  
sack'd, and the Pope, who had retired into the  
castle of St Angelo, remain'd besieged there till  
the arrival of the confederate army, when the  
Imperial forces, great part of whom were swept  
away by the plague, retir'd to Naples.

The Turk  
master of  
Hungary.  
1529.

The Princes of Italy, roused at this affair, en-  
ter'd into alliance with the Kings of France and  
England, and all together resolv'd, at any rate,  
to curb the Emperor's power. Charles, who  
was still in Spain, solicited an agreement with  
the



the King of France and the Pope, that he might be at liberty to pass over into Italy, and thence go on to Germany: The Turk having taken so effectual advantage of the wars of the Christians, that he had almost made himself master of all Hungary.

Mean while the Archduke Ferdinand, who had inherited this crown, by the death of his brother-in-law Lewis, ordered a diet to be call'd at Ratisbon, under pretence of regulating religious affairs; but they were obliged to defer the holding it, and remove it to Spire. The diet There it was ordain'd, that wherever the decree of of Spire. Worms had been publish'd, no person should be suffer'd to turn Lutheran; but that in those places where Lutheranism had been receiv'd, it should be allowed till a council was call'd, on condition that the Catholics should have likewise the free exercise of their religion. But the Lutheran Princes, with fourteen Imperial cities, protested against this decree, and appeal'd to the council and Emperor, whence they have since been call'd Protestants. As to assistance against the Turk, the same Protestants declar'd, they would not contribute to any thing whatever, unless the free exercise of religion were re-established.

During this, Soliman, well apprized of the Christian divisions, and having nothing more The Turk to fear in Hungary, marched and laid siege to besieges Vienna the 26th of September. But that city Vienna. was defended so bravely, by Philip Count Palatine of the Rhine, that the Turk was obliged to raise the siege at a month's end, after having lost 60,000 men.

Charles, resolving to extricate himself in good The Em- earnest from all the affairs with the league, con- peror cluded a peace with the Pope, and then with the makes King of France, on more reasonable conditions peace with the than confede-

G

rates, and goes to Italy.

than before. By this step he found himself at liberty to execute the design he had formed, and embarking at Barcelona, went to Bologna, where he had a conference with the Pope about the means to reduce the Protestants. The Pontif, taking advantage of this disposition, incited him as much as possible to a war with them ; being willing still to avoid the calling of a council, in which he knew the Lutherans would bear great sway : But the Emperor, thro' his apprehensions of the Turk, could not resolve on this rash measure. These conferences terminated in a resolution to assemble a diet : After which Charles sent orders to all parts for the convocation of it at Augsburg, on the 8th of April. He did not however arrive there till the 15th of June, which gave the Protestants time to settle that confession of faith, which has since retained the name of the confession of Augsburg, to present him in a full diet.

The confession of Augsburg presented at the diet, 1530.

He opened it on the 20th of the same month, when Cardinal Campegio, the Pope's Legate, took occasion to make a Latin oration, to exhort the Lutherans to re-enter into the communion of the Roman church. At the end of that harangue, the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and several other Princes rising up, advanced over-against the Emperor's throne, and made him a compliment, begging him to permit their confession of faith to be read, to shew that they had not embraced heretical opinions. The Emperor acquiesced with their demand, and the next day that confession, with the authority for each article, after reading, were delivered into his Majesty's hands. Some time after, the catholics refutation was read before the Emperor, who gave his approbation of it, and pressed the Lutherans earnestly to subscribe it, but

but in vain. The diet then gave them respite till April the next year, to reconcile themselves to the church ; prohibiting them, during that time, from writing against the catholics, or drawing over any catholics to their communion. It was added to the decree, that the Pope should be desired to summon a council in six months, to be opened a year after the citation.

The protestants, not being content with this decree, withdrew ; and the Emperor, judging thence of their intentions, put an end to the diet by another decree, whereby he forbid the exercise of any other religion, but the catholic, on pain of punishment, and confiscation of goods. This decree induced the Landgrave of Hesse, who first absented himself from the diet, to make a league for six years with the Cantons of Zurich and Basil, and the city of Strasburg, for their common defence, in case they should be attacked on account of their religion.

The Protestants withdrew from the diet.

In the midst of these troubles, Charles, not forgetful of his brother Ferdinand, persuaded the Archbishop of Mentz to convene the electoral colleges. The substance of the summons was, that the Emperor having desired him to call the Electors to meet at Cologne, to proceed to the election of a King of the Romans, the 29th of December was fix'd for that purpose. But the Elector of Saxony, having received one of these Letters, immediately wrote to the Landgrave of Hesse, and all the other protestant Princes, States, and Cities, to beg them not to fail meeting on the 29th of December at Smalkald, in order to advise what measures to take for the safety of their party. Thus it happened, that while the catholic Electors were deliberating at Cologne upon the election, the protestant Princes arrived at Smalkald, where they agreed immediately upon a defensive league,



Ferdinand  
elected  
King of  
the Ro-  
mans, and  
afterwards  
crowned  
at Aix,  
but not  
acknow-  
ledged by  
the prote-  
stants.

league, against all who should attack them in general or particular. This done, they dispatched letters to the Emperor, to declare the reasons that had obliged them to this measure. They also inserted therein their protestations against any pretended election of a King of the Romans; alledging, it could not be lawfully done, while the Emperor was in good health; and that therefore it was not only contrary to the Caroline bull, but also to the rights and liberties of the Empire. But, notwithstanding these protestations, the other Electors who were present at Cologne, finding it necessary to satisfy the Emperor's demands, proceeded to the election of Ferdinand, the 5th of January 1531. He was crown'd at Aken, the 11th of the same month, of which advice was immediately given to the Princes and States of the Empire, with orders to acknowledge his new title. But the Elector of Saxony, and his confederates, instead of complying, sent to demand assistance of the Kings of France and England. The latter refused them, with design as yet to keep fair with Rome, till he had got his marriage dissolved with Catharine of Arragon: But the former comply'd, to prevent the violation of the liberties of the Empire.

Agree-  
ment be-  
tween the  
two par-  
ties.

In January 1532, the Emperor set out for Ratisbon, and in his way passed by Mentz, where the Archbishop pressed him to hearken to a peace with the Protestants, till a council should be called. To this he consented, and accordingly the Electors of Mentz and Palatine dispatched deputies forthwith to their colleague of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, to invite them to Schweinfurt in April, where his Majesty permitted them to meet, to endeavour a reconciliation: A meeting accordingly took place; in which,  
after

after much debate, they came to an agreement. The purport of the principal articles was, “ That  
“ the Emperor should maintain the publick peace  
“ throughout Germany ; and that, without re-  
“ garding the decrees of Worms and Augsburg,  
“ both parties should be forbid molesting each  
“ other, on a religious account, till the States of  
“ the Empire should find some means to ter-  
“ minate the differences : That he should call  
“ a council in six months, and give orders to the  
“ Imperial chamber, to suspend the execution of  
“ all sentences on religious matters, and not to  
“ admit any new action against the Protestants ;  
“ and that reciprocally the Protestants should be  
“ obedient to the Emperor, and promise to  
“ give him assistance against the Turks.” This  
treaty was agreed on by seven Protestant Princes,  
and twenty-four Cities, the 23d of July ; and  
Charles, who had all the transactions communi-  
cated to him, ratified it the 2d of August, in  
the diet at Ratibon.

The apprehensions had of the Turks were not Soliman  
imaginary : For advices were brought to Ratif- marches  
bon, that Soliman was on the march towards against  
Stiria with a prodigious number of troops ; that Germany  
15,000 horse were already advanced as far as  
Lintz, and that Soliman in person had already  
crossed the Danube at Belgrade. But as the a-  
greement just made with the Protestants had  
calmed the minds of both parties, and each strove  
which should outvie the other in shewing their  
zeal against the common enemy, the Christian  
army consisted in a short time of 90,000 foot  
and 30,000 Horse. This news, with the ap-  
proach of winter, was sufficient to oblige Soli-  
man to march back to Constantinople, without  
being able to undertake any thing.

The Emperor goes into Italy, where he enters into a league with the Pope, to the prejudice of France.

After the Sultan's retreat, Charles disbanded good part of his army, and set out for Italy. At Mantua he wrote to the States of the Empire, that he was obliged to take that journey for important reasons, particularly to consult with the Pope on the convocation of a council; and that, for the rest, he had left to the King of the Romans, in his absence, the management of public affairs. From Mantua he went on to Bologna, where he had a conference with Pope Clement VII concerning the affairs of religion, and the council. He also renewed his league with the Pontif for eighteen months, in appearance on account of peace, but in reality to prevent the French from returning into Italy.

The Pope sends into Germany to consult with the Protestants: 1535.

Charles, having thus secured his affairs on that side, set out in March for Spain, where the affairs of that kingdom required his presence. Some time after, the Pope dispatched the Bishop of Rhegio into Germany, with orders to proceed to Weimar, to John-Frederick Elector of Saxony, who had succeeded his father Frederick, to signify to him his master's good intentions, and desire to reconcile and re-unite, by the mildest methods, the parties that were divided. The Elector, upon his arrival, and delivery of this message with an harangue, made no other answer, than that the affair was of such importance, that it required time to consider of it. However, some days after, he gave the nuncio and Imperial minister to understand; That he was very glad of the resolution the Emperor and Pope had taken to convene a council; that he would consult with the other Protestant Princes, at the next meeting at Smalkald; and then give a definitive answer. In effect, such an answer was accordingly given, by which they agreed to abide by the decisions of a council, provided freedom



freedom of debate were admitted; referring themselves, for the rest, to his Imperial Majesty, to whom, and no other, they owed respect and obedience.

Some months after, the Landgrave of Hesse arrived at the court of France, to endeavour the re-establishment of Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, his near relation, who had been driven from his dominions ten years before, by the confederate States of Suabia. The Emperor likewise, at the solicitation of the States, had deprived this Duke of all his territories, and had invested there- with his brother Ferdinand.

The Landgrave imagined that he had now <sup>The Duke</sup> found the lucky moment to recover them, both of Wir- on account of Charles's absence, and because the <sup>temberg</sup> time of the Suabian confederacy was just expired. <sup>restored.</sup> In order to succeed in this design, he mortgaged <sup>1534.</sup> the principality of Montbelliard to the King of France, in Duke Ulrick's name, on his advancing a considerable sum and the promise of more. Both the Landgrave and King Francis then made considerable levies, which being joined beyond the Rhine, they advanced into the Duchy of Wirtemberg, and fell upon 1200 Imperialists, whom they defeated, taking most part of them prisoners. After this defeat, all the fortresses in Wirtemberg submitted to Duke Ulrick, their former master.

This gave occasion to the Elector of Mentz, A double and George Duke of Saxony, the Landgrave's accom- father-in-law, to negotiate an accommodation <sup>modation</sup> between King Ferdinand and the Elector of <sup>made.</sup> Saxony, that it might be the forerunner of one between the Landgrave and the Duke of Wirtemberg with the same Ferdinand. They succeeded in both: It was agreed by the first treaty, That Ferdinand, in Charles's name, should

put an end to all actions entered in the Imperial chamber against the Protestants, not comprehending the Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, and other sects; and that the Elector of Saxony, and his allies, should acknowledge Ferdinand as King of the Romans, and give him the title." By the second it was stipulated, "That Ulrick should be restored to the possession of all his estates, on condition that he and his successors should hold the Duchy of Wirtemberg in fief of the house of Austria, and that in default of heirs male in the house of Wirtemberg, this country should return to the Princes of Austria, to be held by them as a fief of the Empire; that Duke Ulrick should acknowledge Ferdinand as King of the Romans, and enter into no confederacy against him; that the Landgrave and Duke Ulrick should either come in person, or send their ambassadors to ask pardon of Ferdinand, and that Duke Ulrick should then receive of him, as Prince of Austria, the full right of possession of his Duchy."

The  
King of  
France's  
genero-  
sity

No sooner was the Duke of Wirtemberg re-established in his dominions, than he repaid the King of France the money he had advanced him on the mortgage of Montbelliard. But Francis, not content with restoring the principality, presented him with a very considerable sum which he had lent him, besides the mortgage money.

The Pope  
excludes the  
holding a  
council.

During the war of Wirtemberg, this King was meditating another against Duke Sforza of Milan, who had married Christina, Niece to Charles V: To this intent he had made a league with Clement VII; but that Pope dying at the end of September, prevented the execution of their design. Paul III, of the house of Farnese, succeeded Clement both in the papal chair, and in his

his politics. He eluded the convocation of a council ; but to conceal his design, ordered Verger his nuncio to visit the Princes, to propose Mantua for the place of assembly, and demand in what manner they expected the proceedings should be managed. He also charged his nuncio to incite all the German Princes against the King of England, who had separated from the church, and to try if there was no way to convert Luther and Melancthon. In compliance with this order, Verger went to visit most of the courts, and on the road had a conference with Luther, who remain'd inflexible. Whereupon the Pope chose out nine Cardinals and Bishops, who drew up a formulary for the reformation of the church.

The Protestants, by this, finding out the Pope's intentions, made use of it as a pretence for their assembling at Smalkald ; but in reality, it was to renew their alliance, which was just upon expiring. The Elector of Saxony, the Elector Palatine, Robert Duke of Deuxponts, the Princes of Pomerania, Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, Count William of Nassau, the Deputies of Frankfort, Augsberg, Kempten, Hamburg, and Hanover, were all at this assembly, where they renewed the alliance for ten years, both for themselves, and all of the confession of Augsberg.

It was at this assembly that two embassadors, one from Francis I, and another from Henry VIII, King of England, were present. The French minister came to clear his master of the imputation laid on him by the protestant Princes, for having burnt some Lutherans at Paris ; and to consult with the confederates about an alliance with the Turks, which the Sultan had offer'd his master. But the assembly did neither

The confederacy of Smalkald renewed. 1535

Negotiation of the French and English embassadors at Smalkald.



ther seem very well satisfied with the excuse, nor did they much regard the proposal. As to the English ambassador, his master having already been divorced above a year, both from his wife and the church of ~~the~~ Rome, that minister propos'd to the Princes, in his name, to keep united together against the papal authority: Which was very agreeably received by the assembly, with a promise to conform to it.

Confusion  
in the ci-  
ty of Mun-  
ster.

During these transactions, Munster, for near two years, became the scene of a bloody tragedy, which was there acted by a particular sect of Anabaptists. Most part of the inhabitants, attach'd to this new doctrine, protected the authors of it with so much obstinacy, that they expos'd the city to total ruin in their defence. They had chose a taylor for their King, called John of Leyden, while their Bishop kept them continually besieged. At last, just as despair had determined them to perish rather than surrender, one of their Mock-king's companions, with whom the besiegers held a correspondence, opened them an entrance into the place.

Charles in  
Africa and  
Italy.

On the other hand, Charles had undertaken to make war on Chairadin, called Barbarossa, general of the naval forces of the Ottomans, who infested the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. With this design, he set out in April with a formidable fleet; render'd himself master of the city and port of Tunis, which Barbarossa had taken from King Muley Assen; delivered a great number of christian captives; re-establish'd Muley Assen in his territories, and left a good garrison in the fort Goletta to oblige him to remain his tributary. Charles was forced to quit the coasts of Africa, on receiving advice that the King of France had entered Piedmont, with above 60,000 men, both to revenge himself of  
-the

the Duke of Savoy, and to recover the Duchy of Milan. The Emperor no sooner arrived at Naples, but he sent orders into all his dominions to dispatch what troops they possibly could into Italy, to make head against the French. From Naples he went on to Rome, where, in the presence of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the ambassadors of foreign Princes, he made a very passionate harangue against the King of France. He renewed also his solicitations for the convocation of a council; and the Pope, being secretly informed, that the Protestants insisted absolutely, on its being held in some city of the Empire, protested openly, that he was willing to give the Emperor satisfaction upon that point; but instead of naming a city in Germany, he appointed it at Mantua, in June 1537.

Charles, believing he had put the religious affairs in a good posture, traversed all Italy with his army, and marched to attack Provence: But the French, by only taking the most advantageous posts, stop'd his army without engaging in any battle, and almost entirely ruined it. The Emperor was obliged to retire to Genoa, where ambassadors from the protestant Princes came to undeceive him, as to the report of their alliance with France and England, and to beg him to allow the Princes and States, who had entered into the league since the last pacification, to live in peace. He received these ambassadors very favourably, and told them, that, before he went for Spain, he would send his answer by Helde his vice-chancellor. In effect, Helde, after going to Vienna, to join the Pope's nuncio, arrived at Smalkald, in February, where the protestant Princes were assembled,

The Emperor enters Provence with an army, but in vain. 1537. A protestant embassy to him.

sembled, and had brought Luther, with their other principal preachers.

The confederates refuse the council in the manner it is called.

The nuncio and embassador immediately presented the Pope's bull, for the convocation of the council, which the Princes gave to their divines to examine: Whereupon many disputes arose, both in public and private. At last they declared, that they would have a Christian council, where every one might speak their sentiments; that the Pope had no authority not only to preside thereat, but not even to call it, which belonged only to Emperors and Kings; and that there were cities in Germany as convenient as Mantua. The nuncio and vice-chancellor, finding it impossible to make them change their resolution, addressed themselves to the catholic Princes, to form a counter-battery to the alli-

A catholic league.

ance at Smalkald. With which intent those Princes assembled at Nuremberg, where they concluded a league for eleven years, declaring the Emperor and King Ferdinand Heads. The principal Princes that entered into it were, the Archbishops of Mentz and Saltzburg, the Dukes William and Lewis of Bavaria, Duke George of Saxony, and the Dukes Eric and Henry of Brunswick.

Suspension of arms for the Netherlands only, and Turin relieved by the French.

Francis had always resented the renunciation which Charles, by the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, had forced him to make of the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois. Hereupon he ordered the parliament of Paris to proceed against him, the Emperor, as a vassal, who was guilty of rebellion, and had him summon'd upon the frontiers, by herálds, to make his appearance, and clear himself. The Emperor assembled his troops with all speed, and just as he began to make some advantage over the French,

a sub-



a suspension of arms for six months was agreed on, for the Netherlands only. The war was carried on in Piedmont, where the Imperialists took Cherasco by storm, making a great slaughter. But some time after, the people of Turin being almost reduced to famine, the King sent his son Henry, accompanied by marshal Montmoranci, with a formidable army, which open'd the passages, and relieved the place. However, by the interposition of the Pope and the Venetians, he also granted three months truce for Italy. While the hands of Charles, by these truces, were tied up, he had recourse to stratagems. Duke Charles of Egmond having put himself under the protection of the most Christian King, to maintain himself in possession of the duchy of Gelderland; the Emperor incited the people of that country to revolt against him, and drive him out of his country, by spreading a report that he designed to bring them under French jurisdiction. Mean while some affairs not permitting the Pope to open the council in 1537, as he had appointed in his bulls; this respite gave the Protestants an opportunity to continue their negotiations, and take more proper methods against it. At an assembly the year following at Brunswick, they received into their alliance the King of Denmark, John Marquis of Brandenburg, and Prince Albert of Prussia.

The council deferred.

In May, the next year, the Pope came to Nizza, where, at his desire, the Emperor and King of France met also. The Pontif endeavoured to reconcile them effectually; but, after a long negotiation, could only procure their consent to a truce for ten years. This gave leisure to consult proper means, to put a stop to the progress of the Turks in Hungary.

Truce between the Emperor and the King of France.

Pursuant

Pursuant to the resolutions taken, the Emperor sent circular letters to all the Princes, desiring their aid ; at the same time assuring the Protestants, that he had, by the advice of his brother and council, dispatched full powers to the archbishop of London, and vice-chancellor Helde, to accommodate all affairs with them.

1539.  
A truce  
granted to  
the prote-  
stants.

Notwithstanding this great division in Germany, each party expressed a desire to be re-united. With this common view, in February 1539, an assembly of both parties was held at Frankfort, where it was resolved, “That the Emperor should grant a truce for fifteen months, to all protestants ; that the pacification of Nuremberg, and the Imperial edict, should be ratified ; that justice should be distributed impartially to all persons ; that a day, to be appointed by the Emperor, should be fixed, for the Protestants and Catholics to confer at Nuremberg ; which assembly should consist of learned divines, of a peaceable temper, with some lay-men of ability and discretion ;” and several other equitable articles.

An insur-  
rection at  
Ghent  
forces the  
Emperor  
to pass  
through  
France.

About this time Charles, who had return'd to Spain since the interview at Nizza, was inform'd by the French King, that the people of Ghent having revolted, would have put themselves under the protection of France ; but that he chose rather to keep the truce, than to take advantage of that favourable opportunity. As this advice obliged the Emperor to go into Flanders, he took a resolution to pass through France, relying on that King's honour for his safety. He was met on the frontiers by the constable, afterwards by the King's sons, and at last, by the King in person, who accompanied him through Orleans to Paris, where he made his entry the first day of the year 1540. Nothing was here  
forgot

forgot that could contribute to honour, entertain, and divert him for seven days successively. On his leaving Paris, he was again accompanied in the same manner : Whereupon, seemingly charmed with so much civility, he promised the King, to give him the investiture of the duchy of Milan. Francis absolutely expected it, though Charles would not, he said, sign any act, till he should arrive in his own dominions : But his dissimulation discovered itself at Valenciennes, where he evaded all that they proposed to him on that subject.

Having regulated affairs in Flanders, and punished the revolt of the citizens of Ghent, by building a citadel, and leaving there a garison in it ; he was obliged to give satisfaction to the envoys of the protestant Princes, who were come to meet him, on account of the result of the assembly at Frankfort. Preferring the peace of the public therefore, and his own interest, to the Pope's remonstrances, he confirmed the result some time after, and appointed an assembly at Haguenau : But as, amongst other affairs, they could not agree about the restitution of the ecclesiastical benefices, it was refered to another diet, at Worms. This diet too was held in vain ; and another at Ratisbon, in April 1541, only decreed to refer all to a conference.

Three doctors of each party were appointed, under two presidents, who were Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Nicholas Granvelt, the Emperor's first minister. The catholic doctors were John Eckius, John Gropperus, and Julius Pflugius ; the Lutherans were Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius, assisted by diverse persons of quality. They could agree only on five or six articles. As for the rest, Charles persuaded the diet, either to refer them

More affairs about religion.

A conference.



Other bu-  
siness in  
the diet.

them to a council, or else to the judgment of another diet. Contarini, the Pope's legate opposed this, insisting strenuously that all should be decided by the Pope, or a general council. But without minding his opposition, a decree was made, wherein the taking possession of church lands, and the enticing away any one from the ancient religion, were very expressly prohibited. But this was mere outside form; for as he only endeavoured to gain the Protestants to prevent their putting themselves under the protection of the French, the Emperor ever gave them his letters patent secretly, granting them the liberty to believe and profess what they pleased. He made use of the same juncture to condemn the Duke of Cleves to the ban of the Empire, because he had applied to the King of France, in order to maintain himself in possession of the Duchy of Gelderland, which was devolved to him. He also ordered the Duke of Savoy to be re-establish'd in his dominions, and forbid the Germans to list in the French service. Then, after exhorting all the States to contribute towards the expences for opposing the Turk, he dissolved the assembly in haste.

Charles  
goes to  
Italy, and  
thence to  
Barbary,  
where his  
arms are  
unsuccess-  
ful.

The reason was, because of the season for his going to Italy, in order to embark on board a fleet, to execute a design against Algiers. He landed accordingly, and laid siege to the town: But the weather proved so bad, that most part of his troops and vessels perished there; insomuch, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and retire to Spain with the shattered remains.

Ferdinand  
unsuccess-  
ful in  
Hungary.

Nor was Ferdinand more successful in the East: For, going to besiege Buda, where the young King Stephen was shut up, Sultan Soliman, whom the other guardians of the royal pupil had called to their assistance, having sent

an

an army, and following himself at the head of another, Ferdinand was obliged to give him battle, which he entirely lost. Soliman then made himself master of Buda, together with the person of the young monarch, and the Queen dowager.

This disgrace in Hungary, gave Charles an opportunity to summon a diet at Spires, whereat <sup>1542.</sup> the King of the Romans presided in his place. <sup>Diet of Spires,</sup> That Prince obtained an ample supply to act <sup>where a</sup> against the Turk; and the nuntio offer'd, in <sup>war with</sup> his master's name, all the assistance he could <sup>the Turk</sup> possibly furnish, either in troops or money. <sup>is resolv'd</sup> on. As the Princes who formed that assembly had all contributed generously towards their mutual defence, that minister likewise informed the Protestants, that the Pontif, in consideration thereof, would grant a council in a city of the Empire, and that he had chosen Trent. Pursuant to this offer, the Pope caus'd the publication of the council to be made on the first of June, to be opened on the first of November following.

An assassination had been committed in Italy, Charles by some Spaniards in disguise, on two French <sup>constitutes</sup> ambassadors, the first designed for Constanti- <sup>his son</sup> nople, and the other for Venice. This made <sup>King of</sup> Francis resolve on revenge, and with this intent <sup>Spain, and</sup> he attacked the Emperor, at once, in Brabant, <sup>sets out</sup> Luxemburg, Artois, Piedmont, and Roussillon: <sup>for Ger-</sup> But Charles defended himself so well, that the <sup>many.</sup> King reap'd no advantage from this war. On the contrary, it alienated from him the minds of the German Princes, who believed he did it with a design to force the Emperor to desist from his preparations against the Turk. They had certain information, that the infidels were arming extraordinarily, to push on their conquests; in-  
somuch, that Ferdinand, in the beginning of 1543, assembled the Princes at Nuremberg,  
II where

where he found no difficulty in obtaining their consent to what resolutions he pleased.

Duren, &c.  
taken.

Charles, preparing to set out for Germany, constituted his son Philip King of Spain, causing him to marry the Infanta Maria, daughter to John King of Portugal. Being arrived at Bonn, and having assembled his forces there, he marched to Duren, in the duchy of Juliers, and causing that city to be invested, attacked it so briskly, that he took it by storm. In this assault great numbers were killed on both sides: But it spread such a terror through the cities of Juliers, Ruremonde, and Venlo, that they surrendered without resistance.

The Duke  
of Cleves  
makes his  
peace.

The Duke of Cleves, finding himself so briskly attacked, came to Venlo, and negotiated his affairs with such success, that the Emperor granted him his pardon: On condition, however, That he should continue steadfast in the Catholic church; promise fidelity to the Emperor; renounce the alliance of France and Denmark; not make any league without including his Imperial Majesty; and give up the possession of the Duchy of Gelderland. Charles, in exchange, restor'd him all the Duchy of Juliers, but Heinsberg and Sittard.

The ar-  
mies re-  
tire.

Francis I was marching to the Duke's assistance, with a strong body of troops; but being informed that he had made his peace, he discharged his spleen on the city of Luxemburg. At the same time the Imperialists, having received a reinforcement from England, attack'd Landreci; upon which the Emperor went on thither with the rest of his army. Francis marched the same way, and it was thought they would have come to an engagement; but the King retreated, having thrown into the town what troops and provisions were necessary.

Charles,



Charles, hereupon, return'd to Germany, to assist at the diet he had summoned at Spire.

Long and frequent were the deliberations there, Diet of upon the war with the Turk and France, and Spire. the complaints of the Protestants. However, it was resolved to grant the Emperor double taxes. They consented to furnish him with a subsidy, called six Roman months, in money, for the raising 4000 horse, and 24000 foot, to be employed in making a home push against France. As to the war against the infidels, a capitation tax was resolved on. And as to religious affairs, they made a decree, whereby the execution of the edict of Augsburg was suspended yet longer, in favour of the Protestants.

This decree had so great an effect upon the The Elec-  
 Elector of Saxony, that he entered into a par- tor of Sax-  
 ticular treaty with the Emperor, whereby he en- ony enters  
 gaged to acknowledge Ferdinand as King of the into an a-  
 Romans, which he had hitherto refused; and greement  
 Charles, on his part, approved of the mutual with the  
 convention between the family of Saxony and Emperor.  
 Cleves, with regard to succession. Besides this,  
 King Ferdinand promised his daughter Eleonora  
 in marriage to the Elector's eldest son, provided  
 a reconciliation in religion could be effected.

Affairs being thus regulated, the Emperor set Charles  
 out from Spire, to execute the design he had and Hen-  
 concerted with the King of England to attack ry VIII,  
 France. Both were to meet on a day appoint- attack  
 ed before the city of Paris, there to join their France at  
 forces, sack it, and lay all waste as far as the river once.  
 Loire. The English sat down before Bou-  
 logne, and the Emperor advanced straight to  
 Metz. There having rendezvouzed his army,  
 he laid siege to Luxemburg, and took it: He  
 also took Ligni in Barrois, and St Dizier, whence  
 he advanced as far as Chateau Thierry; which

struck such a terror throughout Paris, that all who were able left the city. Francis I, confounded to see two such enemies upon his hands at once, sent embassadors to the Emperor, who finding him chagrin'd at the King of England's stopping on the frontiers of Picardy, instead of coming to join him, managed the matters so well, that a peace was concluded between them at Crespy, the conditions of which are too long to recite. Charles V, returning from Soissons to Brabant, sent his Spanish troops to winter in Lorrain, and the countries adjacent. But not thinking his peace with the French well cemented, while Francis I continued at war with the King of England, he procured an interview between the embassadors of those two Princes and his own, at Bruges: But all their endeavours at that time prov'd fruitless.

The diet  
of Worms  
wherein  
nothing is  
concluded  
1546.

The Pope hearing of a peace between the Emperor and the King of France, adjourned the convocation till March following. In the mean while Charles summoned a diet at Worms, in order to consult, with all the Princes and States, on proper methods to compose the differences of religion, re-establish peace in Germany, and wage war with the Turk. But the Protestants declaring, that they could not allow the first article to be refer'd to the council, the Emperor broke up the assembly, and adjourned it to Ratisbon in January.

The Pro-  
testants  
prolong  
their con-  
federacy.

The adjournment of this diet made the Protestants credit the advices they had received, that Charles and Ferdinand only endeavoured to amuse them, and had long been preparing for war. This made them resolve to assemble at Frankfort, that same month, to deliberate on the means to defend themselves from the evils wherewith they were threaten'd. The best remedy they

they could find, was to prolong their confederacy, and prepare for defence. At the same time Frederick II, who succeeded his brother Lewis Elector Palatine, sent for Protestant ministers into his capital city Heidelberg, to preach their doctrine. But the joy of this good news was much moderated, by the advice received a few days after of Luther's death. In the mean while Charles, finding that his hopes of composing, by a general council, the differences in religion that disturbed Germany, would be in vain, reproached the confederates severely, in a full assembly at Ratisbon, and did not conceal his intentions to make use of his authority, to reduce them to reason.

In a treaty concluded about this time with the Pope, that prelate was to furnish the Emperor with 12,000 Italian infantry, 1,500 horse, and 200,000 crowns in gold. Charles was to levy half the revenues of church lands through all Spain, and appropriate to himself the rents of the monasteries, all in view of this war; and the cardinals confirm'd this agreement. This confederacy serv'd as a warning for the Princes to be upon their guard, and even occasioned a peace between France and England.

All things being thus ripe for a rupture, Charles published a manifesto in justification of his taking up arms. And the Protestants, especially the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgravé of Hesse, published their answer to it, turning the tables upon the Emperor. They, at the same time, armed so powerfully, that they were soon superior to the Imperialists, having 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 130 pieces of cannon. This prevented the Emperor, who had made his utmost efforts to form a body secretly, in order to attack them, before they were in a posture of defence. However, he put



the Elector and Landgrave to the ban of the Empire, declaring them disturbers of the public tranquillity. This declaration he sent to Duke Maurice, the Elector's cousin, promising him the Electorate, though he was a Lutheran; and gave him orders to march, with all the forces he could raise, to make himself master of the country.

Begining  
of hostili-  
ties.

Though the Emperor had not yet a sufficient number of troops, he set out from Ratibon in the begining of August, and encamped between the enemies and Landshut, on the river Iser. There he was at leisure to wait for the Pope's forces, who joined him to the number of 10,000 foot, and 1500 effective horse. Some little time after he received a reinforcement of 6000 Spaniards, all veteran troops; insomuch that his army, consisting of 45,000 men, was in a condition to act against the allies. In a word, such was Charles's vigilance, and the irresolution of the Protestant commanders, that, towards the end of the year, they applied to him for an accommodation; but he propos'd to them such hard conditions, as they would not accept.

A defec-  
tion of the  
allies, and  
distress of  
the Elec-  
tor of  
Saxony.

Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, seeing the bad situation of their affairs, made his agreement with the Emperor; wherein he was followed by the cities of Ulm, Frankfort, Memingen, Bibrach, Ravensburg, Kempten, Augsburg, and Straßburg. This breach in the Protestant party mortified the Elector of Saxony, who, to repair it, endeavoured to reap all possible advantage of the good intelligence he had established in Bohemia. He approached to the confines of that kingdom; but missed his aim, through the foresight of King Ferdinand, which forced him to retreat towards Saxony. This disgrace touch'd him the more sensibly, in that he at the same time heard of the little success of his embassy in England,

England, on account of the illness of King Henry VIII, and of the death of Francis I, who, some few days before, had sent him 100,000 golden crowns, and as much to the Landgrave of Hesse.

The Emperor, willing to take advantage of so favourable a juncture, resolved to march with all expedition to Saxony, to stop the Elector's progress. He set out from Egra on the eighteenth of April, being accompanied by King Ferdinand, and the Dukes Maurice and Augustus of Saxony. He arrived near Meissen the twenty-second of April, where he wanted but little of surprizing the Elector, who would have retreated with his troops to Wirtemberg, on the other side the Elbe: But Charles finding a ford, passed the river, followed him close, and having overtaken him, attack'd his army, cut them in pieces, and took him prisoner.

The Elector of Brandenburg, informed of the success of the battle, came to meet the Emperor, who had sat down before Wirtemberg. He had already condemned John-Frederick to be beheaded as a rebel, and conferred his electoral dignity and dominions on Duke Maurice. But the Elector of Brandenburg pressed him so earnestly for the prisoner's pardon, that he granted it on condition, ' That he should renounce the electoral dignity, both for himself and his children; that he should yield up the cities of Wirtemberg and Gotha; promise to obey the Imperial chamber, and disengage himself from all alliances against the Emperor and King Ferdinand; that he should have 50,000 crowns annually out of the Electorate, for himself and his children; that with the Duke's permission, he should retain the city of Gotha, but demolish the fortifications. However, that he should remain in custody of the

Emperor, or his son the King of Spain.' In compliance with this, the city of Wirtemberg was deliver'd into Charles's hands, after the prisoner's wife, with his son, and the garison were retired.

The  
Land-  
grave of  
Hesse ob-  
tains  
peace.

This affair being thus terminated, the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke Maurice endeavour'd to conclude a peace also for the Landgrave of Hesse, and agreed with the Emperor on a scheme for a treaty. It consisted of several articles, mortifying enough to the Landgrave: But as he had no other resource, when they were sent to him he accepted them, by the advice of all the States, on condition that he should not be obliged to any more clauses. As the Emperor was advancing towards his country, in order to have enter'd it if the Landgrave should have been obstinate, that Prince went to meet him, accompany'd by the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke Maurice of Saxony, and ratified the treaty. He then fell on his knees before his majesty, having his chancellor by his side, who read a writing wherein the Landgrave ask'd pardon for the offence he had committed, and humbly beg'd him to receive him into his favour: To which he returned a seemingly gracious answer.

The Landgrave, thinking the Emperor sincere, return'd him thanks; and he, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke Maurice, went to sup that night at the Duke of Alva's. The repast being over, the Landgrave, not mistrusting any thing, went into another chamber, and play'd at dice, for his diversion, whilst the Electors were entertain'd by the Duke of Alva, and the Bishop of Arras. After midnight the Electors being informed, that the Landgrave must stay that night under a guard, in the place where he was, sent immediately to give him advice of it: A little after

But is ar-  
rived con-  
trary to  
his expec-  
tations.



after they went themselves, to testify their deep regret; and the next morning complain'd to the Emperor of the Landgrave's usage, adding an humble request, that he would order him to be set at liberty, according to the guaranty they had given him. To this Charles made answer, that he had not promised not to confine him, but only that he should not be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, which alone was his meaning. His ministers also shew'd them in the treaty, that instead of *Einige*, Any, 'twas written *Eivige*, which signifies Perpetual. In fine, orders were sent to the Landgrave to follow the Emperor, which he obey'd; and the two Princes, his friends, went on with him to Naumburg, continuing their solicitations: But three days after Charles gave them orders to proceed no farther, or otherwise he would send the Landgrave into Spain. Hereupon they informed the prisoner of the command they had received, who gave orders for the payment of 150,000 crowns, stipulated in the treaty, and the demolition of his fortresses, to facilitate his enlargement: But after the money was advanc'd, the fortresses demolish'd, and the cannon deliver'd up, he was still kept a prisoner; notwithstanding the complaints made thereof in the diet at Augs- burg. For the Emperor eluded all applications by giving the diet to understand, that of three points they were principally to deliberate on, the discussing of that which concern'd the interests of particular persons ought to be defer'd, till the other two, the reunion of parties, and the regulation of justice, which related to the public good of the Empire, should be determined.

Great were the disputes upon the first article, more especially as the Pope had transferr'd the council of Trent to Bologna, and continued re-  
Diet of  
Augsburg.  
 solute

folute to keep it in that city, This obliged the Emperor, by way of medium, to fatisfy all parties, to caufe a regulation to be drawn up by men of learning, as a form of worship eftablifhed Ad interim, till the decrees of the council decided what was to be believed, with regard to the points contefted between the two parties. Befide this, the marriages of priefts were tolerated, and the communion was granted to the laity in both kinds : Which two laft points the Pope oppofed, as contrary, he faid, to ancient difcipline. But to him, and the Catholics who murmur'd, the Emperor answered very prudently, that what he had done had no relation to them, who were ftill to retain their old customs, but only to the Lutherans, whom he endeavoured to regain. Upon the fecond head, the re-eftablifhment of juftice, and the authority of the laws, was left to the Emperor ; and in the mean while, as the Imperial chamber was embarras'd with a multiplicity of affairs, ten extraordinary affeffors were added to the ordinary number, that they might difpatch bufinefs with the more expedition. As to the laft point, the private interefts of fome Princes and States, his Imperial majesty declared that he would himfelf take cognizance of them. He ftill refused the Landgrave's liberty ; confirm'd to Duke Maurice, in prefence of all the affembly, the gift of the dominions of Duke John-Frederick of Saxony ; and prevail'd on the States to grant him an extraordinary aid in money, for the common exigencies of the Empire.

Charles in the Netherlands, where he uſes ſeverity.

After the difmiſſion of this aſſembly, and an invitation of thoſe of the confeſſion of Augſburg to aſſiſt at the council, the Emperor ſet out for the Low Countries ; where ſending for the Infant Philip his ſon, he cauſed him to be acknowledged

ledged his heir apparent, making the States pay him honours in that quality. Some little time after, to signalize his zeal for the church, Charles went so far as to establish several tribunals of inquisition, to proceed against those who should profess any other than that of the catholic religion. It was this measure, which, in the end, served as a torch to light up a flame that could never after be extinguished. For the governors of those provinces, successively ambitious to emulate their master, carried things to such a height, that the subjects of all degrees, making a virtue of necessity, shook off their yoke, took up arms, fortified themselves, and, in fine, grew so powerful, that even the Kings of Spain were forced to receive these rebels as friends; acknowledge as sovereigns those who had been their subjects; and suffer, instead of one religion, as many as the others should think fit to introduce.

The Lutheran Princes and States, very much Again at offended also at this severity, protested loudly Augsb<sup>urg</sup>, against the Interim. Hereupon Charles, coming to the diet of Augsb<sup>urg</sup>, made great complaints of these protests, and, in order to dispose the Protestants to recall them, abolished the inquisition, with regard to foreign merchants: And on his confirming the decree of the Interim, he assured the States, that the differences of religion would be soon determined by the council, which Julius III had re-establish'd at Trent, where all Christians might have liberty to assist. When his Imperial majesty left Augsb<sup>urg</sup>, he went to Inspruck, both to be near Trent, and to be better able to provide for the war of Parma, against Henry II of France, who had espoused the interests of Octavio Farnese.

The ambassadors of Saxony and Brandenburg follow'd after the Emperor, to continue their



The Elec-  
tor Mau-  
rice makes  
war on the  
Emperor.

The coun-  
cil of  
Trent dis-  
perſes.

their ſolicitations for the Landgrave's liberty. Charles gave them hopes, and promiſed to accommodate that affair with the Elector of Saxony. But Maurice, being inform'd of this answer, which was the ſame the Emperor had always made him; reſolving to efface, if poſſible, the ill impreſſions his conduct had made on thoſe of his own religion; and knowing that the only way for that was to attack Charles V; he uſed every effort to put himſelf in a capacity to make head againſt him, with a formidable army. He managed matters with that ſecrecy and addreſs, that every one was ſurprized when they heard he had made a league with the King of France, retain'd in his ſervice the troops that had been employ'd in the ſiege of Magdeburg, and ſecured the Elector and Princes of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine, the Dukes of Wirtemberg, Deuxponts, and Mecklenburg, and the Marquis of Baden, in his intereſt. Nor could it ever meet a more favourable juncture for his deſign: For on one hand, Charles was employ'd againſt the French; and on the other, Ferdinand was diverted by the incuſſions of the Turk into Hungary. Beſides this, Charles had hardly any troops, but thoſe he had brought from Saxony. Maurice took the field therefore with his forces; publiſh'd a manifeſto, and, making himſelf maſter of the towns that were in his way, advanced as far as Suabia, and took Augſburg. Thence he march'd on towards the Alps, in order to ſeize the paſſes, and prevent the Spaniſh and Italian troops coming into Germany. This ſo near approach of his army diſperſed the council of Trent, the Biſhops adjourning the aſſembly for two years. The Emperor likewiſe was in ſo great a conſideration, that he ſent the King of the Romans to Maurice, with all expedition, to treat with him.

Thoſe

Those two Princes had a conference at Lintz, where the Elector, who had a design to surprize the Emperor, endeavoured to amuse Ferdinand, by a convention made between them to assemble at Passau, there to treat of an agreement. By this refined piece of policy, whilst Ferdinand went to the Emperor, Maurice made the best use of his time, before the commencement of the truce; advanced with all expedition; forced the passes in the vallies that lead to Inspruck; took the castle of Eremberg, called the pass of Chinse, and had nothing to prevent his marching on to Inspruck. But the Emperor, apprized of the taking of that place, set out by break of day, in a litter, with his brother, and Duke John-Frederick, to whom he gave his liberty; and, being follow'd only by their domestics, without any equipage, made their escape to Villacho on the Drave.

Maurice, continuing his march, enter'd Inspruck that next morning, where he gave all the equipages of the court to be plunder'd; only preserving that of King Ferdinand, his friend. As for the inhabitants, he forbid their being insulted, or their effects touch'd. The King of France, mean while, in compliance with his league, enter'd the frontiers with a powerful army; took Verdun, Toul, Metz, Nancy, and all Lorrain; whence he marched on to Hagenau, to favour the designs of his allies. Charles, on the other hand, being well posted, bent all his thoughts on appointing a rendezvous at the foot of the Alps.

The Princes, who interposed to mediate an accommodation, being met at Passau the 20th of May, applied themselves so earnestly to compass that end, for fear of the Landgrave's life, which the Emperor threaten'd, that on the 1st of August

Maurice enters Inspruck, and the French King subdues Lorrain.

The Pacification of Passau.

guft was concluded the treaty, called the /Pacification of Paffau. This treaty has always been confider'd by the Proteftants, as the foundation of their evangelic liberty, which in effect they have ever fince enjoy'd. Conformably to it, the Landgrave was fet at liberty ; but was arrefted again at Maeftrecht, by order of Queen Mary, governefs of the Low-countries, till ſhe ſhould know, as ſhe alledged, the Emperors will more precifely. However, Charles ordered his liberty to be reftored, and he arrived in his own dominions the 10th of September.

The Em-  
peror be-  
ſieges  
Metz.

The Emperor, who had abandoned the intereſts of religion only to obtain the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants againſt Henry II, took advantage of all their forces, and finding himſelf at the head of 80,000 men, reſolved to have his revenge of that king. With this formidable army he took his rout by Straſburg, and, whiſt his forces paſs'd the Rhine, pitch'd his quarters in a village near Hagenau. This done, advancing as far as Landau, he ſpent ſixteen days more there, before he march'd to begin the ſiege of Metz. This delay gave the Duke of Guiſe time to fortify Metz and Nancy, and provide them with all neceſſaries. As the Emperor advanced, the Marquis Albert of Brandenburg revolted to him. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay of the ſiege of Metz, that the town was attacked by near 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horſe, and battered by 114 pieces of cannon, all commanded by an Emperor in perſon ; who, after great numbers of his troops had periſhed by the cold, and contagious diſtempers, at the end of December reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, having loſt one third of his army.

This diſgrace, however, did not diſhearten the Emperor ſo much, but that, as ſoon as ſpring came



came on, he attacked Terouane, stormed the town, and razed it to the ground. But he proceeded no farther on that side, leaving the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, Prince of Savoy. His own endeavours, mean while, were employ'd to put a stop to a civil war, which Albert of Brandenburg had begun in Germany; and to advance the marriage between Philip his son, and Mary Queen of England; which nuptials were consummated the 25th of July, 1554, at Winchester.

Charles  
razes Te-  
rouane,  
and mar-  
ries his  
son.

The Marquis Albert had been defeated in a pitched battle, near the river Weser, by the Elector of Saxony, who was himself mortally wounded there with a musket-shot. Albert then made his escape into Franconia; but being again beaten by King Ferdinand, was obliged to take refuge in France. His trial, as a disturber of the public peace, was prevented by the French King, who comprehended him in the truce concluded in the abbey of Vaucelles, on the 5th of February 1555. This truce was to be in force by sea and land, for five years, both in the Low-countries, Italy, and elsewhere.

Marquis  
Albert's  
history.

The same day this treaty was signed, Ferdinand opened the diet of Augsburg, in the Emperor's name. This was held pursuant to the treaty of Passau: But the disputes herein were so great, in reference to the religious points that were contested, that they continued to the 23d of September: So that Ferdinand at last could only bring them to certain resolutions; the chief of which were, "That neither the Emperor, King Ferdinand, nor the other Princes and States, should commit any manner of outrages upon the subjects of the Empire, on account of the belief of the Augsburg confession; that they should not despise them in any manner,

A diet at  
Augsburg.

“ manner, but let them enjoy liberty of con-  
 “ science, with the peaceable possession of their  
 “ effects and rights : That those of the Augs-  
 “ burg confession should behave in the same  
 “ manner to the Emperor, King Ferdinand,  
 “ and the other Princes and States of the ancient  
 “ religion.” The other articles relate chiefly to  
 the ecclesiastics, the courts of justice, and pub-  
 lic charities.

Charles  
 resigns his  
 hereditary  
 domini-  
 ons, 1556.

Whilst Ferdinand was thus regulating affairs  
 in Germany, the Emperor, finding his health  
 and spirits decay daily, resolved to renounce the  
 administration. With this view, he had already  
 recalled to him his son Philip, to whom, in fa-  
 vour of his marriage, he had before given the  
 kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the duchy  
 of Milan. And now the States of the Low-  
 countries being assembled at Brussels, Charles  
 yielded up to him the sovereignty of those pro-  
 vinces ; in consequence of which cession, the  
 States did homage, and took the oath of alle-  
 giance to their new Lord. A month after, the  
 deputies of his other States, whom he had sent  
 for, being arrived at the same place, he entirely  
 gave up all his other kingdoms and dominions,  
 and invested Philip therewith ; reserving to him-  
 self but 200,000 ducats yearly, out of the Spa-  
 nish revenues, and some furniture.

And like-  
 wise the  
 Empire.

Nothing now remained, but to abandon the  
 Empire to Ferdinand : Charles thought proper,  
 however, to keep it a year longer, with inten-  
 tion that his brother, being Emperor, should  
 consent to Philip's being elected King of the  
 Romans. But Ferdinand had thoughts of se-  
 curing it to his own son, and managed matters  
 so well, that he eluded Charles's pretensions.  
 Finding therefore, that he could gain nothing  
 on this head, he ordered to be drawn up, in pro-  
 per

per form, his renunciation, in favour of his brother; entrusting the Prince of Orange, Vice-chancellor Helde, and his secretary Haller, to carry it to the next Imperial diet, and deliver it to the King of the Romans, with all the ensigns of the Imperial dignity.

Charles, having thus divested himself entirely of all authority, prepared for his passage from the Netherlands into Spain, where he had chosen his retreat. He set out from Brussels, in company with his son King Philip, Maximilian King of Bohemia, the King of Tunis, Eleonora Queen Dowager of France, and Mary Queen Dowager of Hungary and Bohemia. Being arrived at Ghent, he dismissed the embassadors that were with him, and continuing his rout to Flushing, embarked there with his sisters the Queens Eleonora and Mary. When he came into Spain, he shut himself up, as a simple friar, in the cloister of St Justus, where, two years after, September the 21st 1558, this great Emperor ended his life.

His retreat  
and death.

Charles V was well made, tho' his shape was something too large: His eyes were blue and pleasing, his nose aquiline, and his chin peaked: His complexion was fair, and his hair hung down but half-way his ears. He understood the Spanish, Italian, French and German tongues, with a little of the Latin. He knew how to design, and often diverted himself in drawing plans. He was a passionate lover of the exercise of arms; sat very well on horseback; took a pleasure in dressing plainly, and could not endure to change his clothes. He was very familiar, and would commonly rally with his attendants: Yet was he circumspect in his actions, and in his discourse often so ambiguous, that it was not safe to rely too much on his word. He was patient in

Character  
of Charles  
V.



giving audience, judicious in his answers, resolute in supporting his ambassadors and officers, and grateful to such as had served him. Never did Prince spend less upon his pleasures, or take more pains to examine his expences.



## C H A P. VI.

Containing the reigns of FERDINAND I,  
MAXIMILIAN II, RODOLPH II, and  
MATTHIAS.

FERDI-  
NAND I,

1556.



1558.  
Acknow-  
ledged  
Emperor.

FERDINAND, after his regulating religious affairs at the diet of Augsb-  
burg, had been chiefly employ'd in  
Hungary against the Turks. But  
having supply'd that kingdom with  
all things necessary for its defence, he return'd  
to Germany, to assist at the diet of Frankfort.  
The ambassadors of Charles V arriving there  
with the act of renunciation, the Electors, having  
deliberated several days thereon, at length ap-  
proved it unanimously, transfered the Imperial  
dignity to Ferdinand, and swore allegiance and  
fidelity to him. Paul IV, who then enjoy'd the  
Papacy, declared this election null, as well as  
Charles's renunciation, because the consent of the  
holy See had been desired for neither. He even  
refused to give audience to Ferdinand's embas-  
sador, and deputed several Cardinals to examine  
the merits of this affair, who entirely concur'd  
in the Pontif's opinion. But the Emperor,  
thinking their reasons frivolous, sent orders to his  
ambassador to take his leave, and make the ne-  
cessary

cessary protestations. The ambassador executed his master's orders, and the Pontif persisted in his resolution till his death, in August 1559. Pius IV his successor was of another mind, and confirmed Ferdinand in the Imperial dignity.

At the ensuing diet of Augsbourg, wherein the Princes and States assisted in person, he exhorted them to submit to a general council, as the only means to re-establish union among the people ; promising the Protestants that they should be heard more favourably than they had been at the council of Trent. But as he could not bring them to his sentiments, he allow'd the free exercise of religion in their respective dominions, and only continued his solicitations with the Pope to give out his summons. The Kings of France and Spain, who had just terminated their differences by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, join'd in these solicitations : But all had been vain, if the state of religious affairs in France had not induced Francis II to call a national assembly, to consider of methods to prevent the growth of Calvinism. For Pius IV, inform'd of this resolution at Rome, was so alarm'd, that it determin'd him to re-establish the council of Trent. By his bull, November the 29th 1560, that council was to meet again on the Easter-day following.

Desires a council, and at last prevails.

Being apprized of this publication, the Protestants assembled at Naumburg in Saxony, whither Ferdinand caused the two papal Nuncios to be conducted, and invite the Protestants to this council. The Princes gave them a handsome reception, and even heard their harangue peaceably : But ten days after, caused it to be declared to these ministers, That they would not receive the Pope's invitation to the council, because he had no power to convene it, that honour being due

of the Protestants.

to the Emperor only. With this answer the nuncios were complaisantly dismissed, and the Prince some time after came to a resolution, “ That whatever should be determined by the council of Trent, they would all adhere to the Augsbuꝛg confession. ” However, without taking notice of the declaration made by the Protestants, the Pope open’d the council the 18th of January 1562.

Maximilian elected King of the Romans.

In a diet held at Frankfort the November following, Ferdinand’s son Maximilian, who, with his consort Mary, had been crowned King and Queen of Bohemia, was chosen unanimously King of the Romans. The Emperor, willing to take advantage of this juncture, again endeavoured to dispose the Protestants to submit to the council ; but they continued stedfast in their resolution, alledging that they would have a free synod, of which the Pope should not be judge, and complaining of the irregularity of the Roman clergy.

The Pope refuses a reformation of manners.

Ferdinand, in the mean time, applied to Charles IX King of France, and concerted with him what measures to take, to incite the fathers of the council to undertake the reformation of the ecclesiastics : But the Pope, asserting that this reformation was solely his province, would not consent that the council should take cognizance of it, and the Emperor had the chagrin to see his designs eluded. He was the next year refused the demand he had made, for tolerating the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of priests ; tho’ most of the catholic doctors judged this concession necessary.

Death and encomium of Ferdinand I.

Ferdinand died the 26th of July, 1564, after having governed with abundance of equity, clemency, and moderation. He valued himself above all things, on keeping his word : So that having



having promised a gratification to an old officer, who afterwards rendered himself unworthy of it, Ferdinand, nevertheless, ordered it to be given him; saying, He ought to have more regard to his own reputation, than to the baseness of the officer.

All Germany, after the example of MAXIMILIAN II, became desirous of peace, excepting John-Albert Duke of Mecklenburg, who laid siege on a sudden to Rostock. John King of Denmark once restored this city to the Princes of Mecklenburg; since which the populace had often rebelled against them: But, as they were now weakened by the plague, the Duke took advantage of such a favourable juncture, and managed so well, that he obliged them to have recourse to submission. It was concluded, “That the Duke should enter the city with his forces; that the inhabitants should be maintained in their privileges; and that the rest of their differences should be referred to the Emperor.” But the Duke, when he saw himself master of the town, disarmed the burghers, condemned them to a fine of 60,000 rix-dollars, and caused two citizens to be beheaded. His brother, Duke Ulrick, pretending to an equal title, arrived there, and prepared to maintain his pretensions by force of arms, when the affair was determined by the Emperor, who made the two brothers possess the town in common.

John-Sigismund, Prince of Transilvania, had assumed the title of King of Hungary; which obliged Maximilian, by his general Schwendi, to make war upon him. Schwendi had driven the Transilvanians quite out of his country, if Sultan Soliman, to whom he had made himself a vassal, had not mediated an accommodation.

On the 14th of January 1566, a diet was summoned at Augsburg.

War in  
Hungary.

moned at Augsburg, for the affairs of the Empire. It was opened by a proposal made by Duke Albert of Bavaria, in the Emperor's name concerning the methods to maintain peace with Protestants; to extirpate certain sects not included in this peace; to reform the length of judiciary proceedings; and, above all, to resolve on furnishing the necessary succours against the Turks. Frederic, Elector Palatine, was here accused of professing a religion contrary to the statutes of the Empire: which obliged him to make a public profession of his faith before all the diet, wherein he declared, that his religion was in no wise contrary to the confession of Augsburg, nor to the apology made for that confession, which had been approved by the last assembly of Protestants held at Naumburg. Domestic affairs having been regulated, the Emperor pressed the States earnestly to take into consideration the war with the Turks, who threatened Hungary. Soliman, mortified to the last degree at a disgrace he had received before Malta, was preparing to revenge himself on that kingdom. Hereupon the States consented to maintain 40,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, for eight months: and, as there was no time to lose, Maximilian dismissed the diet, and went strait on to Vienna, to give orders for levying his troops. The Turks, it was said, amounted to 200,000 men: And Maximilian, by the eighteenth of August, was ready to set out with 80,000 infantry, and 20,000 horse. Soliman laid siege to Zigeth, whereof the brave Count Serini was governor: But the Emperor was advised to hazard nothing for his relief, and only to keep upon the defensive. This gave the Turks sufficient time to destroy the town, by a continual fire, and reduce the Count to take refuge

fuge in the last castle ; which being likewise set in a flame, he lost his life by making a sally on the enemy. Maximilian, informed of the taking of Zigeeth, resolved to retreat ; wherein he committed a second fault, because he might have taken advantage of the consternation of the Turks, on account of the sudden death of Soliman before the place, and the absence of Selim his son and successor. However, the Emperor left a considerable body of forces, which he divided in the principal places of Hungary. These alone disposed Selim to hearken to a truce, which was concluded for eight years, with a clause, that each should retain what they had conquer'd in the war. Maximilian had herein the advantage, because Schwendi, his general, had taken several places from the enemy.

As for the rest of his troops, the Emperor conducted them back to Germany, to assist the Elector of Saxony against John-Frederick, and finish the siege of Gotha. That siege had continued a long time, and was begun at the Emperor's instigation ; because John-Frederick, son of the depos'd Elector, under the pretence of protecting one Grombach, an outlaw, made preparations as if he would recover the Electorate. Maximilian was so bent upon this war, that, with the forces he sent the Elector, it was easy for that Prince to force the city and fortress to surrender, on what conditions he pleased to impose. Grombach, and his accomplices, suffer'd by diverse kinds of deaths : Duke John, by the Emperor's order, was imprison'd and guarded during life ; and the fortifications of the city and castle of Gotha were entirely demolish'd.

The divisions that began to break out in the Netherlands, seem'd to threaten Germany. Maximilian saw this, and at the same time thought



War of  
Treves.

that some Princes of the Empire, especially the Elector Palatine, intermeddled too much with the affairs of the Calvinists in France. Having summoned a diet therefore at Falde, he caused several decrees to be made, for the preservation of the peace of the Empire, which was the end on which he bent all his thoughts. This induced him, the next year, to interpose in the difference between the Elector of Treves and his capital city. The Elector, who could never reduce the inhabitants entirely to his obedience, pretended that the city was immediately subject to him. On the contrary, the burghers alledged, that they were not dependent on the Archbishop, but on certain conditions. Hereupon that Prelate laid siege to the city, which continued from the beginning of June till August, when an accommodation was concluded. The Archbishop was to raise the siege, and neither touch the persons nor effects of the inhabitants: He was to have entrance into the city, which should give lodging to his Highness's guard; and as to what difference remained between them, they should refer it to the Emperor and Electors.

1569.  
The Em-  
peror  
grants li-  
berty of  
conscience  
to the Au-  
strian  
states.

The Protestants of the Austrian dominions, to whom Maximilian had refused the free exercise of their religion, flattered themselves now with the hopes of succeeding in the same request, because their States had just done him a signal pleasure, in discharging several sums, which he had borrowed for his war against the Turk. In effect, this juncture proved so favourable, that, after pressing solicitations, they prevailed.

The Em-  
peror's  
modera-  
tion.

1570.

The Emperor condescended to this thro' a natural inclination to gentle methods, and because he was persuaded, that in religious matters force rather exasperates people's minds, than reconciles them. He could not bear, without pain,  
the

the account of the cruelties, exercised by the Duke of Alva, in the Low Countries, to force the consciences of the people ; but dispatch'd his brother Charles to Philip King of Spain, to beg him to moderate those proceedings. His remonstrances, however, were of no effect : On the contrary, a civil war broke out, which produced the consequences so well known to the world. Upon the same principle his Imperial Majesty refused the ambassador of Charles IX, King of France, leave to raise forces in Germany, to act against the reformed religion.

The German Protestants, and among others the Elector of Saxony, knowing that the Pope, and the Kings of France and Spain, had made a league together, to utterly exterminate them all, endeavoured to arm themselves against the persecution : But their apprehensions were somewhat lessen'd, when they were informed, that the King of France had excus'd himself from entering into a league against the Turk, because of the miserable condition to which the war with the Huguenots had reduced his kingdom ; and that the King of Spain had joined his fleet with the naval forces of the Pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Savoy, the Genoese, and Malta, to act in conjunction against Sultan Selim. This enemy of christianity, elate with his conquest of Cyprus from the Venetians, kept his ships still together, apparently with some new design : But the Christians, under the command of Duke John of Austria, took their advantage so well of their enemies, that they entirely defeated them.

The Emperor did not enter into this league, on account of their truce : But, in the mean time, he obliged the Prince of Transilvania to renounce the title of King of Hungary, and to  
acknow-

League of  
the Prote-  
stants, and  
war with  
the Turk.

acknowledge himself a vassal to the Emperor, tho' tributary to the Turk. Maximilian renew'd this treaty afterwards with Stephen Bathori, the next Prince, and managed the States of Hungary so well, that he persuaded them to elect Rodolph, his eldest son, successor to their crown.

The Emperor has his son Rodolphus chosen King of Hungary.

Tries in vain to get the crown of Poland for his second son.

Secures to Rodolphus the Imperial and Bohemian crowns.

Maximilian had, before this, thoughts of the kingdom of Poland for his second son: But Henry, Duke of Valois, brother to Charles IX of France, carried it from all the other competitors. However, the Emperor had a second opportunity given him, by Henry's resigning that crown, in order to receive the succession to the throne of France, which was fallen to him by the death of his brother. But this second attempt was not more favourable than the former: For, whether he had not been careful enough in bringing over the Palatines, or whether those lords were apprehensive of the power of the house of Austria, they gave the preference to Stephen Bathori, Prince of Transylvania.

The chief point remaining was to secure the Bohemian and Imperial crowns to his son Rodolph; which he pursued with so much application, that he at last gained his point. For the States of Bohemia meeting in September, 1575, proceeded immediately to his election; and the States of the Empire, who were assembled at the same time at Ratisbon, created him King of the Romans on the first of November following.

The Emperor, having thus established the affairs of his family, applied himself wholly to those of the Empire: But was obliged, at last, to make all other thoughts give place to those of eternity; a subject he had long accustomed himself, in his familiar discourse, to speak of with pleasure. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, on the twelfth of October, 1576.



Maximilian II was very affable and free ; easy to forgive ; an enemy to flatterers, and more so to back-biters ; averse to luxury and debauchery ; skill'd in the art of war, tho' unfortunate in that of Hungary ; master of six languages, the Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish and Slavonian. By his wife Mary, daughter to Charles V, he had fifteen children : The ten that surviv'd him were, Rodolph, Ernest, Matthias, Maximilian, Albert, and Wenceslaus, sons ; and the daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Eleonora ; the first married to Philip II King of Spain, and the second to Charles IX King of France.

The same conduct and measures that had distinguish'd his father Maximilian, were observed by RODOLPH, tho' he was but twenty-four years of age when he came to the crown. Wholly intent on maintaining peace and union, he mented the members of the Empire, in order to make a stronger resistance against the Turk.

Matthias, his brother, had acquired such a reputation, that the confederate States of the Low Countries, who had shook off the Spanish yoke, desired him to take upon himself their government ; but in the year 1580, having a mistrust of all the Princes of the house of Austria, they dismissed him, to make room for the Duke of Anjou.

Rodolph, zealous for the ancient religion, had not, however, the same indulgence for the Protestants as his father. Those of Austria he restrain'd, only allowing some gentlemen to exercise their religion at their country seats ; and caused the pacification of Passau to be observ'd, which enacted, that every Prelate, who renounced the Catholic religion, should be deprived of his benefice. Gebhart Truchses, Archbishop of Cologne, did not scruple, however, to declare for

for the new opinions, that he might marry Agnes of Mansfeld, Canoness of Gurisheim.

The Elec-  
tor of Co-  
logn de-  
pos'd for  
turning  
protestant.

There being a diet held at Augsburg, as the assembly was composed of a good number of Protestant Princes, the Elector sent his deputies thither, to obtain, underhand, liberty of conscience in his diocese. They had certainly gain'd their point, had not the Senate and Chapter of Cologne made a strong opposition. Gebhart then threw off the mask, surprized the city of Bonn, pillaged the church-treasure, granted the free exercise of religion to all his subjects, and afterwards married Agnes of Mansfeld publicly. Persisting thus in his change, he was excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, who constituted Ernest of Bavaria in his place. This Prince marched to attack Truchses, with the troops of the Duke his father, and those the Emperor sent to re-inforce him. The war lasted some time; but at last, after several engagements, Truchses was entirely driven out of his country, and retired into Holland, where he lived the rest of his days in very indifferent circumstances.

War with  
the Turk.

That he might more effectually appease the domestic broils of the Empire, Rodolph took care to prolong his peace with the Sultan for eight years; but some time after, the Turks, without regard to this truce, made incursions into Hungary and Croatia; and marched with 10,000 men as far as the frontiers of Carniola, carrying off a great number of people, cattle, and furniture. But Ernest, the Emperor's brother, pursued them to the extremity of Croatia, where they were almost entirely routed, and the head of their general was brought to Ernest.

Maximi-  
lian de-  
clared  
King of  
Poland,  
and then  
defeated.

Maximilian, his brother, elected King of Poland three years after, by one part of the States, was not so successful against Sigismund, son to the

the King of Sweden, who had also been chosen by the strongest party. For coming to an engagement near Cracow, Maximilian was defeated, and taken prisoner ; nor had he his liberty till the year after, on condition that he should renounce the crown of Poland.

Amurath III, Sultan of the Turks, began the war again in 1592, making himself master of Repitsch, Wihitsk, and some other cities in Croatia. These hostilities obliged the Emperor to arm, when with 45,000 men, meeting the Turks between two rivers, near Sissleg, he attacked them so briskly, that they were entirely defeated. Amurath was no sooner informed of this, than he sent another body, which reduced several other places ; but Rodolph detaching a re-inforcement to his army, they advanced to Belgrade, and again defeated the infidels ; whose loss in these two actions, which were nearly equal, amounted to 26,000 men. Tieffembach, the Emperor's lieutenant-general, soon after surprized and took Zabatick by storm, a fortress reckoned till then impregnable ; and in less than a month retook Filleck, with eleven other towns and castles, which the Turks had possessed thirty years : And the Emperor taking advantage of this good fortune, sent his brother Matthias into Hungary, who made himself master of Novi-grad, whilst the Counts Serini and Nadafti drove the Turks out of Bresens, Seczin and Segeft, in Lower Hungary. These conquests were followed by the battle of Hatvan, which the Imperialists gained likewise.

Being obliged to call a diet at Ratibon, the Emperor remonstrated to the members of it the breach of faith committed against him by the Turks, alledging the necessity of opposing force to force, and desiring their assistance to maintain it. The States, considering

1591.  
The diet  
of Ratibon.



ing that the consequences of this war might affect Germany, consented to grant him subsidies, by the name of Roman months; and at the same time regulated the proceedings of the chamber of justice, and some other affairs. This diet ended with the investitures of the Electors of Cologne and the Palatinate, the Dukes of Pomerania and Wirtemberg, and some other Princes.

Progress  
of the  
war in  
Hungary,  
against  
the Turk.

This done, the Emperor returned to Prague, to prepare for the defence of Hungary, where the Grand Vizir Sinan, being reinforced by an army of Tartars, had obliged the archduke Matthias to raise the siege of Gran, and made himself master of Thata, St Martin, and Raab. However, the troops the Emperor had detach'd to reinforce his brother, arrived time enough to stop the Vizir's career: While Bathori, Prince of Transilvania, abandoned Amurath's party, made an alliance with the Emperor, and engag'd the Vaivods of Walachia and Moldavia in the same league. These three princes attacked the Turks and Tartars, who entered their dominions, so briskly, that very few could regain their own country. The archduke Matthias renewed the siege of Gran; routed the Turks who came to reduce the place; and in two months after made himself master of it, and of several other considerable fortresses and castles.

1595.  
Success of  
the Turks.

But next year, Mahomet III, who succeeded his father Amurath, marched with an army of 150,000 men to besiege Agria, an important place in Upper Hungary. The garison at first defended themselves very bravely, in expectation of an army under the Archduke Maximilian. But that prince not arriving in time, the soldiers, growing impatient, forced the governor to capitulate, and surrender the place on dishonourable conditions.

conditions. The Turk did not observe the capitulation, but cut this unfaithful garison to pieces, even to the women and children. Maximilian, mortified at this loss, advanced towards the enemy, that he might take revenge, and routed them, killing almost twelve thousand, and taking their artillery. But an Italian renegade, perceiving that the Imperialists amused themselves in plundering, charged them afresh with so much success, that he drove them back one upon another. However, he durst not pursue them any farther; which gave an opportunity to the Archduke to rally his troops, and recover from this misfortune. After which, Mahomet, finding he had lost his army, return'd to Constantinople, and dedicated himself to his pleasures. This reviving the courage of the Imperialists, they surprized the fortrefs of Thata in Hungary, whilst the archduke Maximilian made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city of Pappa, which he took three months after.

Adolph, Baron of Schwartzemburg, being informed the next spring, that the Turkish garison in Raab, which they had kept four years, were very negligent in their guard, resolved to surprize them. A French gentleman, one Vau-  
becour, offer'd to petard one of the gates; which he so happily executed, that the gate was entirely broken down. Whereupon the troops enter'd, and made themselves masters of the place, after a bloody resistance of four hours. The Archduke Matthias, who commanded in Lower Hungary, did the same at Buda, which he took by storm: but, not being able to reduce the castle, he set the city on fire. In return for this affront, the Turk resolved to force the city of Waradin, where the Baron of Friedland, with only 2000 soldiers, and the inhabitants of the city, sustain'd  
the

1597.  
Sequel of  
the war in  
Hungary.

the siege with so much bravery, that, after having cut off great numbers of them, he forced the Turks to a shameful retreat.

1599.

Bathori

repents of

having ex-

changed

Transil-

vania with

the Em-

peror.

Sigismund Bathori having made a cession of his principality to the Emperor, in exchange for the duchy he had given him in Silesia, the Archduke Maximilian was constituted governor of Transilvania. But Bathori, after two months residence in Silesia, finding that his principality was more worth, returned secretly to Clausenburg, in Transilvania, where this young Prince managed the States of that province with so much address, that they received him again joyfully. Mean while, the Turks, to the number of 60,000; push'd on their affairs with so much success, that, after having repuls'd the Duke of Mercœur, who was come with a number of French volunteers, to throw succour into Canisa, they made themselves masters both of that place, and several others in the neighbourhood. But that Duke being reinforced, advanced as far as Transilvania, where he took Alba Regalis, which the Turks had taken from the Transilvanians, and obtained other advantages over them. However, after he was retired, they attacked it the year following, and carried it by storm.

1603.

A treaty

of peace.

Both sides began now to be weary of the war in Hungary, and bent their thoughts on establishing peace, both within the Empire, and without. Botsckay, a calvinist nobleman of Hungary, since Bathori's retreat into Bohemia, had made himself master of Transilvania, and part of Hungary, whereof Bathori was possessed. A treaty was therefore concluded, September 1604, between the Emperor, the States of Hungary, and that Prince; importing, among other things, That the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, should all have free liberty of religion in Hungary;



gary ; and that all offices should be exercised by the natives of the country. They did not find it so easy to treat with Sultan Achmet, who succeeded Mahomet III, and with whom an accommodation was not concluded till November 1606.

The States of Hungary, who were assembled at Presburg, being informed that Rodolph, on account of his infirmities, was not able to visit them ; and that he had a strong inclination, to the prejudice of his brothers, to advance Ferdinand and Leopold, his cousin-germans, who were governed by the jesuits ; resolved to invite the archduke Matthias to become their governor : After which, in order to deprive Ferdinand and Leopold of all hopes, they elected him, as next heir to the Emperor, for their King ; on condition that he should confirm them in all their privileges, and grant them religious liberty.

Matthias  
elected  
King of  
Hungary.

The Protestants of Bohemia, upon news of this election, deputed some of their most considerable men to invite him into Bohemia, in hopes the States of their kingdom would follow the example of the Hungarians. Matthias, persuaded by these deputies, levying what troops he could, marched towards Bohemia, passing thro' Austria, which he endeavoured to subdue. Rodolph, exasperated at this, put himself in a posture of defence. But the Princes of the Empire, apprehending this enterprize would have some fatal consequences, induced Matthias to come to an agreement with the Emperor : Who, by a treaty signed at Prague, gave him up Hungary and Austria, and promised to secure to him Bohemia, in case he should die without heirs. In compliance with this treaty, the Emperor sent the regal ornaments of Hungary to Matthias, who continued at the head of his army : But,

Obtains  
Austria,  
and the  
succession  
of Bohe-  
mia.

having received them, retired according to the agreement, marched to Vienna, made his entry in triumph, and took possession of the archduchy. There he ratified the treaty with the Grand Signior's embassador, as far as related to him; and returned the year following into Hungary, where the principal nobility received him on the frontiers, at the head of 10,000 men, and conducted him to Presburg. The first thing he did, was to grant them, by authentic letters, liberty of conscience, and the confirmation of their privileges: After which his coronation was splendidly solemnized.

1610.  
The Evangelical union, and Catholic league.

But Rodolph, instead of disbanding his troops, according to the treaty of Prague, suffer'd them to live at discretion in the bishopric of Passau, and the kingdom of Bohemia: Which so disgusted the States of the Empire, particularly the Protestants, that it gave them occasion to take advantage of their number and forces, to oblige him to treat them better. With this view, they enter'd into a new alliance, more strict than the former. It was concluded in a little time, and stiled the Evangelical Union. The Princes who engaged in it, were called Correspondents, of whom the Elector Palatine was declared the Head. In opposition to this union, the contrary party formed a league, on pretence of defending the Roman Catholic religion, of which the Duke of Bavaria was stiled the Head. It was called the Catholic league; but with this difference, that in the union none were admitted but Princes of the Empire; whereas several strangers were in the league. One of the motives which induced both parties to be thus upon their guard, was the interest each of them might have in the succession of Cleves and Juliers, upon the decease of Duke John-William, which happened the

sam:

same year. But as the present times are no less affected with the consequences of this succession, than those we are speaking of; I reserve the full account of the several claims to a separate discourse: Only observing, that the chief pretenders were John-Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang-William, son to Wolfgang-Lewis Duke of Neuburg.

Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, the mutual friend of both competitors, interpos'd to bring them to an agreement: He invited them to come to Dortmond, where he made them agree to decide their differences amicably; and in the mean while to unite their forces, to oppose all who should make pretensions to their prejudice. Accordingly the two Princes went to Dusseldorp, where they made the States consent to their agreement; which had been approved by the King of France. The Imperial council, in the mean while, to prevent these fine provinces falling into the hands of the Protestants, agreed to transfer them to some catholic Prince, well affected to the house of Austria, and to establish a commissary there in the Emperor's name. Pursuant to this advice, Rodolph sent the Archduke Leopold to Juliers, to act there in that quality. But the corresponding Princes of Germany, in concert with the Kings of France and England, and the United Provinces, declared loudly that they would not suffer this usurpation.

During these transactions, the people of Dona-Donawert wert, where the Protestants were the strongest, had driven the Catholics out of the city, rejecting all proposals of accommodation that were made them in the Emperor's name. The city was hereupon proscribed, besieged, and obliged to demand a composition. The Duke of Bavaria, who commanded the siege, might have carried



ried it by storm ; but he preferred mild methods to force, being willing, by this example, to induce Ulm, Nuremberg, Nortlingen, and the other Protestant states of Suabia, to continue in their duty. But they all, instead of returning the Duke thanks, joined themselves to the Bohemians, and complained of these incroachments to the Princes of the Evangelical Union, who were then assembled at Hall, and promised them their protection.

The assembly of the Princes of the Union, and of the Catholic league.

The concourse was so great at this assembly of the Princes, Deputies, and Embassadors of foreign Princes, that they reckon'd up to the number of 140 voices. They concluded to undertake the defence of the two Princes in the possession of Cleves and Juliers, to drive out the sequestration which Rodolph had sent thither, and to besiege the city of Juliers, where it was established. . They also regulated what each should contribute for his quota, the embassador of France promising 8000 foot, and 2000 horse. In opposition to this resolution, the Emperor called a Diet at Wurtzburg, where the Electors, Princes, and cities of his party concerted measures to assist the Archduke Leopold, as also what every one should furnish for that purpose. Nothing was then to be seen, all Europe over, but levies of troops, and warlike preparations ; which demonstrated but too evidently, that there was some other great design yet concealed.

The Elector of Saxony invested in the estates of Cleves and Juliers.

Rodolph, a short time after, convened another diet at Prague ; where, among other things, were proposed a reconciliation between the Emperor and his brother Matthias, the election of a King of the Romans, the restitution of Donawert, and the accommodation of the affair of Cleves and Juliers. Upon the two first points, nothing positive could be determined : But as for

Donawert,

Donawert, it was decreed, that the Elector of Bavaria should restore it to liberty, on their refunding the expence it had cost him. With regard to Juliers, Rodolph propos'd to confer those dominions on the Elector of Saxony, on condition he should justify that he had the most right; that he should make no alterations in religion; and that he should defray the expences of the Emperor and the Archduke Leopold in this war. Most part of the assembly refused to consent to this proposal; yet the Emperor proceeded, and, on the Elector's submitting to all the conditions, gave him the investiture.

However, Maurice Prince of Orange, and the Prince of Anhalt, continued their design upon Juliers; which they invested, and so straiten'd, that it surrender'd upon terms, and was deliver'd to the Princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg, with the other towns of the duchy of Juliers. Still they endeavour'd to accommodate this important affair, and the city of Cologne was nam'd for a place of conference. Several Princes assisted there, as did the embassadors of the Emperor, the Kings of France and England, and other States. At last a sequestration was propos'd, but on conditions very different from those enjoined by the Imperial mandate: But it was reject'd by the Duke of Neuburg, insomuch that the assembly broke up, without concluding any thing.

But some months after, on a meeting near Leipfick, matters were so well managed, that a treaty was sign'd, importing that the States of Cleves and Juliers should be govern'd by the Elector, and other Princes of Saxony, in conjunction with the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Princes of Neuburg: Yet this agreement neither

was put in execution, because the Duke of Neuburg would not comply with it ; so that he and the Marquis of Brandenburg continued sole masters of the inheritance.

1611.  
Matthias  
protects  
the Pro-  
testants of  
Bohemia,  
and is  
made  
King.

There were other particular affairs in Bavaria, the bishoprics of Strasburg and Passau, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, of which the Protestants made great complaints. The Bohemians were likewise furiously exasperated, on account of the continual mortifications they suffered, without any regard being had to their privileges. When they saw that the Archduke Leopold, with his troops, had marched into Bohemia, surprized the city of Prague, and fortified himself therein ; they had recourse to King Matthias, who promised them his assistance, and marched immediately into Bohemia, at the head of his army. Upon this Rodolph, terrified at his brother's expeditious march, immediately accepted the terms of agreement ; " That the Archduke Leopold's troops should be disbanded, and the Protestants be maintained in their liberty of conscience, and other privileges." But as the principal motive that induced Matthias to enter Bohemia, was to assure him of that kingdom ; the States prevailed so far on the Emperor's temper, that he consented to dispossess himself thereof, in favour of his brother. The next morning he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and crown'd at Prague, in the chapel of St Wenceslaus.

An inef-  
fectual  
meeting  
to chuse a  
King of  
the Ro-  
mans.

Having thus resigned the Bohemian crown, Rodolph summoned a diet at Mulhausen, whence he transfered it to Nuremberg, in order to take a final resolution with the Electors, upon the choice of a subject equal to the task of empire : But he falling sick, the Electors proceeded no farther in this affair. However, they agreed secretly upon the person whom they should elect  
to



to the dignity of King of the Romans, in another diet, which was appointed to be held the February following.

King Matthias, in the mean while, married <sup>Marriage</sup> the Archduchess Anne-Catharine of Inspruck, <sup>of Mat-</sup> his cousin german. The Emperor could not <sup>thias,</sup> assist at the nuptials, being hindered by his indisposition, which some weeks after grew yet worse ; infomuch that he died, immensely rich, <sup>Rodolph's</sup> on the 10th of December, 1612, in his 59th <sup>Death.</sup> year, without being married.

All the studies of this Prince being taken up <sup>His cha-</sup> with the sciences, and particularly mechanics, <sup>racter.</sup> he was not held to be very capable of government. He had been seen whole days together in clockmakers, turners, and painters shops. His palace was fill'd with chymists, who had intoxicated his brain so much with curiosity, that one of his greatest diversions was distilling, and trying chymical operations. His addicting himself to employments so unbecoming his dignity, joined to his natural timidity, made him but little feared by his enemies.

The Electors being assembled upon the death <sup>1612</sup> of Rodolph, chose King M A T T H I A S, whom they <sup>Matthias.</sup> crowned the 14th of June, with the universal applause of the Empire. The first thing he did, was to recommend to the Princes and States the preservation of union, protesting that his principal care should be to maintain tranquility. He then set out for Prague, where having settled the affairs of Bohemia, he returned, and took up his residence at Vienna.

The Protestants, far from complying with his <sup>1613.</sup> proposals, to reconcile them to the Catholic <sup>Diet of</sup> church, insensibly lost the good opinion they had <sup>Ratisbon</sup> conceived of him. At the diet held at Ratisbon <sup>proves of</sup> the next year, 1613, instead of consenting to <sup>no effect.</sup>

the assistance required by the Emperor, to enable him to oppose the incursions of Bethlem-Gabor, they managed matters so, that he could obtain no satisfaction. They had even so much address in this diet, as well as at another held some time after at Lintz, that they were wholly taken up in compromising their complaints against the Catholic magistrates, without having cognizance of any other affair, except that the Emperor should again re-establish the Aulic chamber.

The Duke of Neuburg has recourse to the Catholic party, who assist him.

They were very uneasy however at the war in Juliers and Cleves, between the Spaniards and Hollanders; which latter had indeed declared openly for the Duke of Brandenburg, whose interest they espoused: But the duke of Neuburg had recourse to the Emperor, and the Catholic party in Germany. These assisted him powerfully; the Marquis of Spinola, general of the Spanish army, having already seized on Rhinberg and Wesel upon the Rhine, the frontiers of the dukedom of Cleves.

He marries the Duke of Bavaria's sister, and turns Catholic.

The Duke, to engage them the more in his favour, married Magdalen, sister to Maximilian of Bavaria, and embraced the Catholic religion. Hereupon the Protestants had diverse private interviews during the year 1614, but to no effect; which obliged them to meet the next year at Nuremberg. Here they gave the Elector of Saxony to understand, that if all the Protestant Princes did not unite, their religion would be considerably endanger'd: But the Saxon, who had received the investiture of those territories from the Emperor, and was as apprehensive of the Spaniards as of the Hollanders, that he might deliver Cleves and Juliers from them both, signified to the Protestants, that there was no way to re-establish peace in those countries, but for the

the Hollanders to retire : But this proved of no effect.

Every one was surprized, in these circum-  
stances, at seeing the Turk apply to the Empe-  
ror for a renewal of peace. He did so however, Truce with the  
Turks.  
and a truce was concluded for twenty years ;  
which happened very seasonably to oblige Bethle-  
hem Gabor, who had invaded Hungary, to re-  
tire into Transilvania. This truce proved no  
less favourable to the Emperor, and the Catholic  
party, by giving them an opportunity to push  
on the Duke of Neuburg's interests. For this  
Duke, being reinforced, took possession of Dort-  
mond and Soest, and made himself master of  
most of the fortresses in Juliers and Bergues.

Neither Matthias, nor his brothers Maximilian 1617.  
and Albert, having any issue, he thought proper The Em-  
to adopt his cousin german Ferdinand of Gratz ; peror  
and at the same time, by the consent of his bro- adopts his  
thers, he resigned the kingdom of Bohemia in his cousin, ger-  
favour ; upon this condition, that he should not man Fer-  
intermeddle in the affairs of the government dinand.  
during the Emperor's life.

Mean while, the Protestants of that kingdom The States  
murmured loudly, on their not enjoying the pri- of Bohe-  
vileges granted them in religious affairs. They mia revolt  
were answer'd in a very haughty manner, that entirely.  
nothing had been done inconsistent with the Im-  
perial edicts, or the resolutions of the States of  
the Empire. Whereupon, finding they should  
receive no other satisfaction, they had recourse  
to a convention of the States of the kingdom,  
which the Emperor forbid : But the resolution  
being taken, his injunctions came too late. Two  
days after the assembly was open'd, several lords  
appear'd at the council, in behalf of the nobility,  
where they made new remonstrances, and de-  
manded justice. The Judges, who assisted at  
this



1618. this assembly, rejected their request with more contempt than was proper. At which these deputies were so exasperated, that they threw them out of the windows from the second story; established thirty directors of the nation; drove all suspected persons, especially the Jesuits, out of the kingdom; and had recourse to arms. At the same time they published a manifesto, to demonstrate the justice of their cause and proceedings; wherein they alledged, that the persons whom they had massacred were enemies to the State, and that as such they had chastised them after the Bohemian manner.

Matthias endeavours to reduce the Bohemians by force.

Matthias, not being able to digest these reasons, bent all his thoughts on punishing the authors; whilst he strove to amuse them by letters, and a manifesto, in answer to theirs. The council of Vienna was indeed for giving them some redress: But the disease was grown too violent to be palliated by a lenitive; and in the sequel 'twas perceiv'd, that there was no room to hope to reduce the revolvers, but by giving them ample satisfaction; wherefore it was resolv'd to use force. Accordingly they advanced their troops to the frontiers of Bohemia; but the Bohemians had been so expeditious in raising their forces, that they already consisted of near 30,000 men, the command of which they gave to Count Ernest of Mansfeldt: Which general, as soon as he was settled at the head of this army, marched to attack Pilsen, and took it, in spite of the reinforcement brought by the Count de Dampiere. This obliged the Count de Buquoy, another Imperial general, to enter the country with his troops. There they committed such outrages, that the poor people, who were sufferers by these ravages, moved several Princes to compassion. Those of the Evangelical Union, in particular, and the Silesians,

lesians, thought it proper to interpose their good offices for them, and dispatch some persons in their name to the Emperor.

After making their just remonstrances, these deputies begged his Imperial majesty to recall his army, and remove the umbrage taken by all the Protestant States of Germany at this procedure. The States of Austria and Moravia likewise interposed, and that so efficaciously, as to induce the Emperor to beg the Archbishop of Mentz, the Electors Palatine and of Saxony, with the Duke of Bavaria, to consider of some expedient for an accommodation. The Elector of Saxony accepted the office with a great deal of zeal, and appointed a day for the meeting at Egra. But the Duke of Bavaria brought so many remora's, that the debates grew hot, and all the measures for an accommodation were broken.

The Emperor, sensibly afflicted at the miscarriage of this negociation, began to be weary of the fatigues of government. It was for this reason, that in July he resign'd the crown of Hungary to his cousin Ferdinand, as he had the Bohemian throne the year before. These disappointments, join'd to his affliction at the death of the Archduke Maximilian, and the loss of the Empress his consort, so overwhelm'd him, that he fell into a languishing illness, which carried him off on the 20th of March 1619. He left his successor involv'd in terrible difficulties, both on religious and political accounts, which occasion'd many revolutions during a war of thirty years.

The Emperor is persuaded to an agreement.

1619, The Emperor's sickness and death.



## C H A P. VII.

The reigns of FERDINAND II, and  
FERDINAND III.

The Elec-  
tor Frede-  
rick cho-  
sen King  
of Bohe-  
mia.



PON the death of Matthias, the States of Bohemia, out of an aversion to the severe government of the house of Austria, sent secretly to offer their crown to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, head of the Evangelical union, though they had previously acknowledged FERDINAND of Austria. Hereupon that Elector went expressly to Munich, to engage the Duke of Bavaria on his side; offering him in return his own suffrage, and those of the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, to raise him to the Imperial dignity. And tho' Maximilian would not comply, Frederick, confiding in the friendship of most of the German and Bohemian Protestants, accepted the offer: Upon which the Bohemians, Silesians, and Moravians, with a part of the Austrians, declared for him against Ferdinand. But Count de la Tour, one of the chief Bohemian revolvers, having levy'd a considerable army, and march'd into Austria to attack Vienna; Count de Buquoy, who was at Budweis, with 10 or 12,000 Imperial troops, taking advantage of his absence, made incursions upon Bohemia, and defeated Count Mansfeldt, who was at Pilsen; which so surprized the new directors of the kingdom, that they recall'd de la Tour from his design upon Vienna.

Ferdinand



Ferdinand having paid a visit also to Maximilian, these two Princes met with no great difficulty in uniting: And, as the time approach'd for the Electors to meet at Frankfort, the former, invited by the Elector of Mentz, set out for that place. Where, after some conferences, he was elected Emperor, on the 27th of August, 1619, and crown'd the September following. After this, before he would attempt to employ force, he used his utmost efforts with Frederick, to induce him to refuse the Bohemian election. But Frederick set out for Prague, where he was crown'd the 4th of November. Seeing this, and having cemented his friendship yet stronger with Duke Maximilian, the Emperor could pitch on no readier method than to oppose the Bohemians with the Catholic league: To restore which he ratify'd it, and confirmed Maximilian in the post of chief of the confederate army. This office the Duke particularly coveted, as he aspir'd to the electoral dignity of the elder branch of his family, which renders the Prince, who is invested with it, general by birth of the troops of the Empire.

Having assembled their forces, the Emperor march'd towards Bohemia, to reinforce general Buquoy: And the Duke, at the same time, advanced with the army of the Catholic league, having under him Count Tilly as lieutenant-general. The Elector Palatine had also a numerous army, with the Prince of Anhalt, and the Counts Mansfeldt and de la Tour, for generals. They came to a battle at Weissenberg, near Prague, on the 18th of November, 1620. After a very obstinate engagement, which began at day-break, the victory fell to the Imperialists. Such was the defeat of the Bohemians, that 9000 of their best troops died upon the spot. The rest fled, leaving

ing ten heavy cannon, and about 100 standards and colours. Frederick, seeing his army beaten past recovery, the next morning retreated with his family, and several of the principal Bohemian noblemen, to Breslau in Silesia.

Bethlehem Gabor ineffectually elected King of Hungary.

It would be to no purpose to give a more particular detail of the sequel of this war, which was but one continued chain of victories. The Duke of Bavaria reduced Bohemia; the Elector of Saxony, Lusatia; and the Count de Buquoy, Moravia, with incredible expedition; inasmuch that Frederick, not thinking himself safe at Breslau, retired into the marquisate of Brandenburg.

The progress of the Emperor's arms.

Some months before the defeat at Prague, the Protestants of Hungary, willing to imitate the Bohemians, had invited Bethlehem Gabor, Prince of Transilvania, to their assistance, and caused him to be elected King by the States at Neuhausel. But this election had no better success than Frederick's: For Bethlehem having enter'd Hungary, with an army of 60,000 men, and shut up the Count of Schwartzemberg in Gottingen; the latter managed his ammunition so well, that having sustained the efforts of these forces till winter, they then raised the siege, and marched home, without even waiting for their Prince's orders. Mean while the Emperor proscribed, and put to the ban of the Empire, not only the Palatine, but Prince Christian of Anhalt, George Count of Hohenloc, and the other Princes who had followed him, depriving them of their effects, territories, and dignities. He gave a commission to the Duke of Bavaria to execute this decree, with a promise to invest him with the Palatine dominions and Electoral dignity. He also made a present of Lusatia to the Elector of Saxony, in recompence for the advantages he had gained him in Silesia. At  
the

the same time he severely punished the authors of the Bohemian revolt, several of whom were excluded.

In the mean while, Count Mansfeldt, who had continued in Bohemia, with the remains of his troops, had recourse to stratagem. He amused the Imperialists with proposals of accommodation, and managed so well, that he escaped with great address into Franconia, where he found means to recruit his forces, and encouraged the Protestant Princes to endeavour to retrieve Frederick's party. Christian, Duke of Brunfwick, in particular, levied a pretty considerable army, which he suffer'd to live at discretion in the Empire: But the Count of Anhalt, sustained by the Spanish forces, having opposed him, the Duke was obliged to regain his own country.

General Tilly, having begun to rout Mansfeldt in the Palatinate, pursued him so briskly for two hours, that the latter, seeing there was no hopes of escaping by flight, set fire to a village, behind which he rallied his forces: Then charging the Imperial vanguard, and driving them to the body of the army, he gained an entire victory, instead of being wholly cut off. The Marquis of Baden-Dourlach, being informed of this success, and resenting a partition of his dominions made by the Emperor, thought to take advantage of the opportunity: But, instead of marching to join Mansfeldt, according to the advice of the Elector Frederick, he marched up to Tilly, to force him to a fresh battle. Tilly, being reinforced by some Spanish regiments, did not refuse the offer. They engaged the 7th of May, when Tilly utterly defeated the Marquis, taking all his cannon, baggage, colours, most of his officers, and 2000 soldiers. The Marquis escaped.



escaped but narrowly himself, and went, too late, to join Mansfeldt.

1622.  
Military  
exploits to  
the end of  
the war.

The Count continued his exploits very fortunately : For having passed the Rhine, he forced the Archduke Leopold to raise the siege of Haguenau ; ravaged the bishoprick of Spire ; and repassing the river, defeated and made prisoner the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstat. But Tilly, seeing the danger to which that Prince's territories were subject, pushed so briskly upon Mansfeldt, that he obliged him to retreat, and abandon the best part of his baggage. Mean while, the Duke of Brunswick recruited his army, by pillaging the bishoprics of Munster and Paderborn, and advanced to join Mansfeldt. But Tilly intercepted him at Hochst on the Mein, and routed him the twenty-second of June. The bridge, which Christian had seiz'd, at the same time breaking, he lost his infantry, composed of 6000 men, most part of whom were drowned, and the rest either kill'd or taken prisoners. This was almost the last effort of the Elector Palatine's party : For that Prince, mortified with so many disgraces, was advised by the Kings of England and Denmark to lay down his arms, in order to facilitate his accommodation, which was then negotiating at Brussels. Whereupon, having dismissed the Duke of Brunswick, and Count Mansfeldt, he retired to Holland.

1623.  
The Duke  
of Brunf-  
wick, and  
Count  
Mansfeldt  
enters in-  
to the ser-  
vice of the  
Dutch.

Those generals, not being willing to remain idle, offered their troops and persons to the States General ; who invited them to come to their territories as soon as possible. But as they were marching across Luxemburg, to relieve Bergen-op-Zoom, then besieged by the Marquis Spinola, they were attacked by Gonzales of Cordona, and lost 3000 men, as did the Duke of Brunswick his left arm. Mansfeldt, however, pursued

pursued his rout, left his baggage by the way, and came time enough to raise the siege. Mean while Tilly put the last hand to ruining the Elector Palatine, by pillaging the castle of Heidelberg, whence he carried off the finest library in Germany, with an infinite quantity of rarities.

It was almost solely to aggrandize the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, that a diet was called at Ratisbon, in 1624, where the transferring of the Electorate was propos'd: Which motion being received, the Emperor declared Maximilian Elector, and invested him in the room of Frederick. He also gave him the Upper Palatinate: and seeing Frederick and his party quite depressed, he afterwards distributed the spoils of that Prince on whomsoever he pleased, and parcell'd out all his dominions.

The Duke of Brunswick, assisted by the States General, soon after enter'd Germany with an army, and committed great ravages: But Count Tilly defeated him in the bishopric of Munster, beyond all possibility of retrieval; all his infantry being kill'd or taken, with his ensigns and artillery. The Duke himself escaped into Holland, and joined Mansfeldt, who had also been defeated by Tilly. They retired together into England, and wrought on King James to take the part of his son-in-law; which he did so far as to obtain supplies of the parliament for that purpose, but never made one effectual push in his favour. However, the usurpation of the Austrian family was made one pretence for breaking off the match then negotiating between Prince Charles of England and the Infanta. But while James utter'd menaces only, Ferdinand pursued his advantage; got the investiture of the Duke of Bavaria confirmed by the Electors, and the promise of support against

L

his

his enemies ; and, after giving him a total defeat in Hungary, by his general Caraffa, granted peace to Bethlem-Gabor on his own conditions.

Makes  
head a-  
gainst the  
Danes, and  
gets his son  
crowned  
King of  
Hungary.

At last, upon the instigation of the King of England, Christian IV, King of Denmark, declared war against the Emperor, professing himself the protector of Lower Saxony, and making himself master of Minden and Hammelen: But meeting with a misfortune, by a fall from his horse, which almost cost him his life, and kept him from action ; and at the same time expecting a reinforcement of 12,000 men from the Dutch ; Tilly took advantage of his distress, beat up his quarters, and continued to alarm and harass him ; while Ferdinand, having already underhand prepar'd the way, got his son elected King of Hungary in a full diet, by the name of Ferdinand III, and crowned in a short time after, notwithstanding the former election of Bethlem-Gabor.

Ill success  
of Count  
Mansfeldt.

This Prince, who, as well as the Swedes and Dutch, had entered into alliance with the King of Denmark, being now enrag'd against the Hungarians, resolved to attack the Emperor on their side. Christian was to send him support under Count Mansfeldt, who accordingly marched to join him as far as Dessau on the Elbe : But endeavouring to take this place by storm, it cost him so much time, that general Wallestein had room to come up to its relief. A sharp engagement ensued, in which Mansfeldt had so much the worst, that all he could do was to save part of his cavalry by flight, leaving behind his infantry, baggage, and artillery. He made his retreat however towards Silesia, which was in his way to the Prince of Transilvania, and soon recruited his army to 25,000 men : But

Bethlem-



Bethlem-Gabor, in the mean time, made peace again with the Emperor, and left the greatest part of this number to perish in the mountains of Hungary, by cold, famine, and diseases. Whereupon Mansfeldt, disgusted, gave up the rest of his troops to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and setting out for Venice, died at a small village of Dalmatia. Wallestein's army, which followed him close, met with the same fate in the mountains. About the same time died the Dukes of Brunswick and Saxe-Weimar: so that the Emperor, within a few months, was delivered from three powerful enemies, and the Protestants lost three of their greatest captains.

Tilly, bent on reducing the King of Denmark's allies, invaded the country of Hesse: but coming before Northheim, in which the Dane had placed a garison, he was well-nigh surprized by that Prince, who came upon him when he was thought 20 leagues off. However Tilly, by stratagem, saved his army, drawing it off in the night, and leaving the drums and trumpets to amuse his enemy, which were to follow him at day-break: And the German receiving soon after a reinforcement, the King was forced to retire, and draw up his army behind a brook. There Tilly attack'd it, and was twice repuls'd: but, at last, entirely routed the Danish horse, kill'd three thousand men, and took as many, with thirty pieces of cannon, ninety-five colours, and the baggage. The King, after this misfortune, retired into Holstein; and Tilly remained master of the Lower Saxony; the Princes of which, tho' Protestants, durst not avow their jealousy for his great success.

The exactions of the Elector of Bavaria, to Insurrec- whom the Emperor had mortgag'd the Upper tion of the Austria, and the severity of the Emperor, who Austria: by peasants.

by an edict enjoined all the Protestant ministers to leave that country, caused an insurrection among the peasants, who had most of them receiv'd the confession of Augsburg, in defence of their properties and religion. They pillag'd the ecclesiastics, to reimburse what had been extorted from them, and refused all proposals of accommodation. A party of Imperialists, and another of Bavarians, they entirely routed; and, being 60,000 strong, laid siege to Lintz the capital: But Count Papenheim coming against them, with 40,000 men, they were driven from the place, and in time quite dispersed. On which occasion the Emperor, prudently, relax'd from that severity so natural to the house of Austria, and punish'd only a few of the prisoners, granting the rest a general amnesty. The reason of which was partly, that Gustavus Adolphus, who, with other Protestant powers, had underhand excited this revolt, now hover'd on the borders of the empire, and invited the Protestants of Bohemia and Silesia to retire into his country. That Prince, the year before, had conquer'd Livonia, invaded Prussia, and advanced almost to Dantzick.

1627.

The Danes  
driven into  
Jutland.

Wallestein, returning from Hungary into Bohemia, soon made himself master of Silesia, by driving out the remainder of Mansfeldt and Weimar's troops. Then joining General Tilly, in Lower Saxony, they drove the King of Denmark into Jutland, and retook, in an instant, all his acquisitions in Germany. Upon which the Elector of Brandenburg, who had not hitherto approved of the Duke of Bavaria's promotion, returned to the Emperor's interest, as did also the Duke of Pomerania.

A diet at  
Mulhausen.

About the same time there was an assembly at Mulhausen, in which, after hearing the complaints

plaints of the Austrian Protestants, and the Elector Palatine, the Princes and States agreed to beg the Emperor, that he would put an end to the ill treatment of the former, and restore the latter to a part of his dominions. Ferdinand, more solicitous for his own family than either for his subjects or the Elector Palatine, instead of gratifying these, irritated all the Protestants farther, by getting his son Leopold nominated to the bishopric of Halberstadt, and the abbey of Hirschfeldt, both which before had been held by Protestant Princes. He also got his Empress crown'd Queen of Bohemia, and his eldest son, Ferdinand, chosen a successor to that kingdom, as he was already to that of Hungary.

The eldest branch of the Mantuan family failing this year, by the death of Duke Vincent, contests arose about the succession between the Dukes of Nevers and Savoy. Ferdinand, who aim'd only at aggrandizing himself, would fain have got the duchy into sequestration, till the parties should agree; but could not, however, prevent a new war on the occasion.

In the mean time, Tilly conquer'd the arch-bishopric of Bremen, and the duchy of Holstein, which obliged the King of Denmark to think of a peace; and Wallenstein seized on Mecklenburg, the Duke of which country Ferdinand had put to the ban of the Empire, for having espoused the Danish party. And the next year 1628, the same general laid siege to Stralsund, which had taken the same part. This brought the Swedes into the Empire, upon the invitation of the burghers, who amused Wallenstein while they sent to Gustavus Adolphus, and put themselves under his protection. In short, the Emperor's arms were become so formidable along

Contests about the duchy of Mantua.

Progress of the Emperor's arms.



the Baltic sea, that they could not but create jealousy in the Swedish monarch.

Ferdinand  
aims at  
absolute  
power.

Ferdinand's design, it manifestly appear'd, was to make himself absolute in the Empire: To which end, his first step was to humble the Protestant party, beginning with his own subjects. Nor did he scruple to tell the Protestant Princes, that he would make them restore their church lands, which made a principal part of the revenue of their estates. The archbishopric of Magdeburg was still in the hands of the Elector of Brandenburg; that of Bremen, and the bishopric of Minden, in the house of Brunswich. Not to mention many others, some of them very considerable, besides collegiate churches, abbies, and hospitals. Magdeburg the Emperor endeavour'd, by a bull from the Pope, to get for his son Leopold, having put the Elector of Brandenburg to the ban of the Empire; but the canons, who were chiefly Protestants, calling Augustin, son to the Elector of Saxony, to be their Sovereign, it occasioned a misunderstanding between the Emperor and the Elector.

Peace be-  
tween the  
Emperor  
and Den-  
mark.

As the King of Denmark made proposals of peace, Ferdinand, tho' he had so much advantage of the war, thought proper to listen to them; because, on the one hand, he knew that England, France, Sweden and Holland, were ready to assist his Danish majesty; and, on the other, he apprehended an invasion of his hereditary dominions by the Turks and Tartars, who might take advantage of the absence of his troops. Accordingly a congress was held at Lubbeck, where, after a long series of negotiation, a treaty was concluded in the year 1629.

Ferdinand was the more in haste to conclude this treaty, because, while it was negotiating, he had

had put the Empire into a high ferment, by publishing an edict for the restitution of church revenues ; enjoining all the circles to see it executed, and supporting the execution with a powerful army under Wallestein. Augsburg, Strasburg, Ulm, Hildesheim, Magdeburg, Bremen, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, submitted to it. But the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg paid it no regard. On the contrary, they drew up a manifesto against the edict, denying the Emperor's power to determine alone in such an affair. Even the Catholics, who suffer'd more from Wallestein's army than the Protestants, call'd out loudly for an accommodation, to which the Emperor would give no attention.

It was remarkable in the congress of Lubeck, that the Imperialists would never consent to admit to it the Swedish ambassador. This, as it was a sensible mortification, so was it a great source of resentment to Gustavus Adolphus ; who this year made peace with the Poles, after losing a battle ; and, being now at leisure, resolved to turn his arms upon Germany, a project he had long meditated. The affair of Mantua afforded him a favourable opportunity ; both the Emperor and the King of Spain engaging themselves so far therein, that the Catholics in Germany were left almost defenceless. On the other side, the King of France had enter'd Savoy in person, with an army of 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse. Gustavus heard all this, and calling together the States of his kingdom, propos'd to them his design ; which they unanimously approving, he settled alliances with the Protestant members of the Germanic body ; put his troops on a good footing ; prepared for their transportation ; and caus'd a manifesto to be drawn up, recounting the subjects of his complaint against the

Emperor. At the same time he gave assurances to all the German Protestant Princes, that he would never lay down his arms, 'till all things relating to them were re-establish'd, on the same footing as in 1618. He had not much reason, however, to be satisfied with their answers, which were influenced either by a real or a feigned fear of the Emperor. But tho' Gustavus found few hearty friends, this year rid him of one whom he had cause to apprehend for an enemy; I mean Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transilvania, who died, leaving a very whimsical will, and the Grand Signor his executor.

1630.  
Affairs of  
the Man-  
tuan.

But, before we proceed to the German war, it may be proper to tell the event of that in the Mantuan. The Venetians, harra's'd by the Emperor's forces, did all in their power to traverse his designs. His army, with those of Spain and Savoy, could not prevent the taking of Pignerol by the French, almost in sight of them all. Soon after died the Duke of Savoy, and the Spanish general Spinola, which proved a fresh obstruction to the affairs of the allies; who had, however, success in a stratagem, form'd upon an intercepted letter from the Duke of Nevers, then in Mantua, to the Venetians. The Duke desired of them 4000 men, on a day specified, to reinforce his garrison: And Collalto, the Imperial general, found means to introduce the same number of his own troops, and take possession of the place. It was Julius Mazarine, afterwards the famous cardinal of that name, who put an end to this war under the Pope's authority. The Duke of Nevers, upon asking pardon of the Emperor, had the Duchies of Mantua and Montferrat; the dominions of Savoy, which France had taken, were restored; and a general pacification follow'd in Italy.

Advices



Advices coming daily of the King of Sweden's preparations, the Emperor recalled his troops out of Italy, and summon'd a diet at Ratisbon: But the Protestants still demanded the suspension of the edict concerning church revenues, and complain'd loudly of Wallestein's exactions; which the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg gave for the reason of their not appearing at the diet, because they could not do it suitably to their dignity. In a word, Ferdinand was obliged to remove Wallestein from the command, and to invest Count Tilly with the same power. Meanwhile Gustavus in reality entered Pomerania, and the diet agreed to wage war against him as an enemy to the Germanic body. But neither the Protestants, nor the Elector Palatine, could get any concessions, Ferdinand continuing immovable in those points.

Gustavus landed on the same day of the year, that the confession of Augsburg was presented to Charles V, in the preceding century; which was looked upon by the Protestants, as a happy omen. He soon got possession of the isles of Usedom and Wolin, whence he drove the Imperialists: And the duke of Pomerania he managed with so much address, that that Prince admitted Swedish garrisons into Stetin, his capital, Camin, Starhard, Wolgast, and other towns. He then invaded Mecklenberg, with which Count Wallestein had been invested, and took Rostock the capital: Nor was it long before he restored the rightful Duke, whom Ferdinand had depos'd. The Emperor reproached him with injustice, for intermeddling with the affairs of the Empire, in which he had no concern: To which Gustavus sent a suitable answer, and then proceeded to take Garts and Greylenhagen, and to restore Christian-William, administrator

Wallestein deposed, and Gustavus enters Germany.

Progress of the Swedish army.

1631. nistrator of Magdeburg, to his office. But it was not long after before general Tilly, taking advantage of the King of Sweden's deliberations with France, took New Brandenburg, and afterwards Magdeburg; putting the inhabitants of the latter, to the number of 20,000, to the sword, and setting the place on fire. In revenge for which Gustavus forced Frankfort upon Oder, and cut in pieces 3000 Imperialists.

Battle of  
Leipsick,  
&c.

Tilly pursuing his conquests, made himself master of Hall, Mersburg, and Leipsick: The conquest of which latter place gave occasion to a battle, which was fought the twenty-eighth of August in its neighbourhood. Gustavus won a compleat victory, killing between 9 and 10,000 Imperialists, taking 120 standards and colours, and all their baggage. The Swedes and Saxons, between them, lost not 4000. Then the Elector of Saxony, the ally of Gustavus, retook Leipsick; while the monarch pursued the fugitives, beat them again in parties, made himself master of Erfurt, Koningshaven, and Wurtzburg; advanced by Frankfort on the Mein; seized Mentz, Oppenheim, Walloff, and other places. The Elector marched from Leipsick into Bohemia; took Prague, Egra, and the whole kingdom; and the Swedish general, Bannier, retook Magdeburg.

1632.  
Wallef-  
tein re-  
stor'd.

In the begining of the next year, Wismar, a harbour on the Baltic Sea, fell into the hands of the Swedes; as did also Bamberg, which was soon retaken by Tilly. Gustavus, in the mean while, renewed his league, offensive and defensive, with the King of France, and some other neighbouring Princes. The Landgrave of Hesse declared for the conquerors, and the Imperial court was in the utmost consternation. In fine, they could think of no other expedient there, but

but to restore Wallestein to the general command: To which the Emperor consented, giving him an absolute power, independent of the councils of Vienna. That general, in a short time, raised a powerful army, more by his own credit than the influence of the Imperial court: nor was it long after, before he recovered the whole kingdom of Bohemia, with as much rapidity as the Saxons had subdued it, and then joined his forces to the Elector of Bavaria.

Gustavus having taken Augsburg, Landshut, Gustavus and other places about Bavaria, laid siege to In-worsted, goldstadt: but met there with such a brave resistance, that he was forced to retire from before it, narrowly escaping with his own life. However he took Munich, the electoral residence, at discretion, carried off 140 pieces of cannon, and made the inhabitants pay 300,000 dollars for their ransom; while the Elector reduced Ratibon, and most of the Upper Palatinate. At last, the Elector and Wallestein joining, Gustavus was obliged to quit Bavaria, and take shelter under the cannon of Nuremberg. Here, though the city supply'd him with provisions, want of forage made him hazard a battle, in which he lost the day, and 5000 men. He then retreated into Franconia; whereupon Wallestein, having separated from the Duke of Bavaria, marched into Saxony, and took several places from the Elector; who, seeing himself in this distress, sent to the King of Sweden for assistance. Gustavus accordingly marched to Lutzen, near Leipfick, where the two armies came to an engagement.

Papenheim, whom Wallestein had detach'd to Hall, was sent for; but did not come up till the action was near over, which was time enough to lose his life. But the great loss this day, was Papenheim, whom Wallestein had detach'd to Hall, was sent for; but did not come up till the action was near over, which was time enough to lose his life. But the great loss this day, was Gustavus kill'd, yet his army victorious, that



that of the King of Sweden, who riding aside, with two attendants, to observe a post, met a party of cuirassiers, who charged without knowing him. Gustavus and his attendants made a vigorous defence ; but that Prince receiving a pistol-shot in the head, fell dead to the ground. His horse returned alone to the camp, the saddle stain'd with blood, and one of the pistols discharg'd, which made the accident but too truly guess'd. However, Duke Bernard of Weimar, on whom the command now devolv'd, made no variations from the King's orders, and behaved as if he had not lost him : so that it might be said, the King of Sweden gained a victory after his death. Papenheim's coming up only prevented the rout's being total ; but could recover nothing ; and at last, the night put an end to the slaughter. Almost 10,000 men fell this day on both sides, and scarce an officer of any rank escaped without a wound. The Imperialists took sixty colours, and the Swedes kept the field of battle. When the body of the King of Sweden was found, one of his enemies lay extended by him, who had just life enough to relate the above circumstances.

Conse-  
quence of  
that bat-  
tle.

Wallestein retreated in Bohemia, when the Elector of Saxony recover'd Leipfick, and the other places in his Electorate, and Duke Bernard took Ratisbon and Bamberg. The deposed Elector Palatine also, taking advantage of the Swedish arms, recovered some of his cities, with design to re-establish himself : but on the twenty-ninth of November, 1633, death put an end at once to his fortune and his life. The death of Gustavus caused no alterations in the measures of Sweden, where Chancellor Oxenstiern, in the name of the young Queen Christina, made a fresh alliance with France : but the  
Duke

Duke of Lorrain espoused the Emperor's party, which made Lewis XIII, at the head of his army, lay siege to Nancy, where Duke Charles came to a fresh accommodation with him. All the efforts of the Emperor, by his several generals, were now unsuccessful to restore his affairs, which seemed every day to yield to the good fortune of the Swedes, and their allies.

Tho' Wallestein, when removed at first from his post of generalissimo, received his discharge, in all appearance, with great fortitude ; 'tis certain he look'd on this disgrace as the utmost indignity, and resolved on revenge. No less than Bohemia and Moravia were to reward him for his services, and for the Duchy of Mecklenberg, which had been wrested from him. His re-establishment was favourable for the execution of his designs. Accordingly, he spared no means to gain the good-will of the officers of the army ; kept up a correspondence with the Protestant Princes, and promised to prevail on the Emperor, and the Elector of Bavaria, to grant them a satisfactory treaty, provided they would assist him in his design : but what detected him was, that once, when several colonels and captains were drunk in his company, he made them subscribe an oath of fidelity to himself, without mentioning the Emperor: For the officers, reflecting next day on what they had done, informed their superiors, who gave notice to the Emperor. Ferdinand, who had before somewhat suspected his general's conduct, sent orders to the army to obey him no longer, and to some faithful officers, to secure his person. Wallestein, who heard what was doing, confiding in his interest with the Protestants, went to Egra, the 16th of February 1634, accompanied only with the

1634.  
Wallestein's conspiracy.

the Counts Terfki and Kinski, and three other officers. As the garison in this place was Irish, he thought himself safe in their hands: But Lesley the commandant, having proper instructions, and intercepting a letter from the duke of Saxony, communicated to the colonels Butler and Gordon his design of arresting the general. After consultation, they judged they could not seize him without too much hazard, and therefore resolved to secure him by assassination. To accomplish this, the two counts, and three officers, were invited from him to supper, by Gordon; who took care to have them all massacred at the end of the entertainment. The captains Geraldin and Devereux, with thirty select soldiers, were the executioners. When they had done, Devereux, with the same party, went to Wallestein's lodging, broke open the door, and laid him dead by the bed-side, with the thrust of a partizan. Several officers of high rank, who were found to be in this conspiracy, were afterwards seiz'd, sent to Vienna, and beheaded. Duke Bernard of Weimar, who was on the road to Egra, had been one of the number, if timely intelligence had not been brought him by the way. This turn in the Emperor's favour facilitated his accommodation with the Elector of Saxony, who began to suspect, that the Swedes aimed at taking advantage of the troubles of the Empire, which therefore they kept alive.

The  
Swedes  
and allies  
defeated  
at Nord-  
lingen.

Ferdinand, King of Hungary, had next the command of the Imperial army, with the same power as Wallestein. He took Ratibon, besieged Nordlingen, and, being re-inforced by the Cardinal Infant, who was going to take possession of the Netherlands, prepared to give battle to the duke of Weimar, who was marching with  
Horn,



Horn, the Swedish general, to relieve the place. They encounter'd on the 17th of August 1634, when the Swedes had at first the advantage ; but the Imperialists rallying, charged again with such bravery, that they obtained an entire victory, with the loss of only 1200 Men. The Swedes left 12,000 dead on the spot, and 6000 prisoners ; with 10,000 horses, 300 colours and standards, 80 pieces of cannon, 4000 waggons, and all their equipage.

As the Elector of Treves had put himself under the protection of the French King, and received French garisons into his dominions, that monarch could not in honour see him oppressed. When the Austrians therefore had taken Philippsburg, and the Spaniards surprized Treves, and made the Elector prisoner ; Lewis XIII, incens'd at the outrage, immediately declared war against Spain. In the mean time, the Emperor strengthen'd his party, by making a peace at Prague with the Elector of Saxony, in which were included several other Protestant Princes, and free cities. He also made a new alliance with the Elector of Bavaria, giving him his eldest daughter in marriage. But the fruits of this re-union were far short of what had been expected, the best troops of those very states, who had made their peace with the Emperor, going into the service of the Swedes. Besides which, Queen Christina, concluding at this time a peace with Poland, was enabled to draw her troops out of the garisons in that kingdom, and to send them into Germany. Having thus muster'd up 30,000 Men, general Bannier, who commanded them, marched first to chastise the Elector of Saxony, for his inconstancy ; which he did, by laying waste all his country : And Bernard of Wiemar having signed a treaty with the King of France,

France, led his troops into Alfatia, to join those of the French King, who declared open war also against the Emperor.

Actions  
on both  
sides.

After several skirmishes, general Bannier came to an engagement with the Imperialists and Saxons, in which he defeated them, and took all their artillery and baggage: Then, being joined by some troops from Pomerania, he made an incursion into Brandenburg, and established the city of Erfurt in his party. He also sent some regiments to the Landgrave of Hesse, which enabled him to relieve Hanau, but were afterwards obliged to fly with him before general Goetz, into Friesland, where he amused himself in ravaging the country, while Goetz did the same by Hesse. Nor was Weimar all this time idle; for, in the Franche Comté, he so effectually harass'd an army of 60,000 men, under general Gallas, that they were obliged to retire in bad condition to Brisac. As this fortress afforded him shelter and provisions, Lewis saw the importance of gaining it from the house of Austria.

Election  
of the  
King of  
the Ro-  
mans, and  
death  
of the Em-  
peror.

According to a design he had long formed, the Emperor, grown very infirm, procured his son, the King of Hungary, to be elected King of the Romans, and coadjutor in the Empire. This was in December 1636; and, as if he had then foreseen it, the Emperor died on the twenty-fifth of February following, being fifty-nine years of age. All his reign, which was of seventeen years duration, he had been involved in wars. His death was extremely regreted by the Catholics, whose protector he had openly declared himself against the Protestants. By his first wife, Anna-Maria, Daughter to William Duke of Bavaria, he left four children; Ferdinand III, his successor, then twenty-nine years old;

old ; Leopold-William, Bishop of Passau, Straßburg, Halberstadt, Olmutz, and Breslau ; Grand master of the Teutonic Order, and afterwards governor of the Netherlands ; Maria - Anna, wife to the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria ; and Cecilia, who was married to Uladislaus, King of Poland.

A month after died at Stetin, George Bogislaus, Duke of Pomerania, the last male heir of his family, which had continued 700 successive years in the male line. By his decease the Elector of Brandenburg was invested in the Duchy of Pomerania, in virtue of a treaty between the two houses : But as the Swedes, before the Duke's death, had made themselves masters of great part of his dominions, the pretensions of the Elector were not regulated till eleven years after, by the peace of Westphalia.

Immediately after the death of his father, FERDINAND III was obliged to apply himself seriously to the war. Bannier, the Swedish general, had taken Torgau from the Saxons, and made the garison prisoners ; joined marshal Wrangel, who commanded 20,000 men, and received a large re-inforcement from Sweden : but he durst not face the Imperial army under Gallas, and therefore retreated into Pomerania, and transported some of his troops to the isle of Wollin. The latter was but a feint, and had the effect of weakening the Imperial army, during winter, with hunger, cold, diseases, and desertion, while the Swedes abounded in all things. At last Gallas was obliged to draw off into the heart of Germany, when Bannier took the field again, and recover'd several places.

Charles-Lewis, son to Frederic late Elector Palatine, thinking this a proper time, raised a little army, and took the field : But he was de-

Death of  
the last  
Duke of  
Pomera-  
nia

1637  
Ferdinand  
III ap-  
plies to  
the war.

Success of  
both ar-  
mies



feated by general Hatzfelt, and his brother Rupert, with King his general, taken prisoners. This victory was followed by the taking of several places: in particular, the French garison of Ehrenberstein surrender'd to John de Werth, after being reduced to eat rats and mice: while the Swedes, having recover'd new vigor, obliged the Princes of Lunenburg to a neutrality; then marching into Misnia, the Protestants flock'd to recruit them. The French in Alfatia, under the Duke of Weimar, having taken Seckingen and Lauttemburg, passed the Rhine, and laid siege to Rhinfeldt: but John de Werth, with his Imperialists and Bavarians, obliged him to raise the siege. However, John did not long maintain the advantage, for the Duke surprized and defeated him the next morning, taking most of his general officers, with himself, and his cannon and baggage. After this, Bernard took Neuburg, Friburg, Tubingen, Stutgard, and some other towns: but not thinking these sufficient, unless he could become master of Brisac, he applied himself to the siege of that place.

Brisac taken, and the Duke of Weimar's death,

The Imperialists were not less solicitous to relieve it, and to that end sent general Goetz, with a strong body of troops. But Bernard defeated them, and afterwards repulsed the Duke of Lorraine. Goetz made a second attempt, but with little better success: so that the garison were obliged to surrender, and had honourable conditions granted them. This was, however, the last action of the life of the illustrious Duke of Weimar, who died at Neuburg, the 18th of July 1639, leaving the command of his troops, by will, to the generals, Erlack, Okem, Rosen, and John Count Nassau; disposing of his wealth to his friends and servants, and giving the government

vernment of Brisac, which was the best legacy, to major-general Erlack.

Lewis XIII, informed of the Duke's death, Consequen- immediately, by large remittances, secured the of it. executors in his interest, and left Erlack in his government. And as the Prince Palatine, Charles-Lewis, had hopes from this favourable conjuncture to get the command of these troops, and came over to France privately with that view, the French court caus'd him to be arrested, and carried prisoner to Bois de Vincennes. In the mean time, Bannier, having re-inforced his army in Saxony, entered Bohemia, reduced some towns, and laid siege to Prague. But the Emperor sending his brother Leopold, with 50,000 men, to oppose him, Bannier was obliged to retire; which he did in good order, and, having joined the Duke of Longueville, sat down before Wolfembuttel in sight of his pursuers, though without success.

The States of Germany, having consider'd 1641. the nature of this wasteful war, intreated the The diet of Ratisbon attempted to be forced. Emperor to put an end to their misery; with which view he called a diet at Ratisbon, where it was resolved, that each Elector in particular, or the whole college in general, should write to the King of France, Queen Christina, and the senate of Sweden, to desire them to consent to some terms of peace. Bannier, the Swedish general, hearing of the deliberations of the diet, made a forc'd march out of Brunswick, through Thuringia, into the Upper Palatinate, in order to break up the assembly, lest they should put an end to the war. He must have succeeded, having already discharged some cannon on Ratisbon, if he could have got together his troops, which were imprudently suffer'd to straggle in Franconia, and the Palatinate, before

the Imperial army came up, under Piccolomini and Merci. But these generals having furrounded and took general Schlang, who commanded the Swedish flying camp, with all his forces ; Banner gave over his enterprize, retir'd into Bohemia, thence into Misnia, and so on to Halberstadt, where he died the thirteenth of May 1641, leaving Torstenfon to succeed him in the command of the army.

Preliminaries of a peace.

In the mean time, the diet of Ratisbon concluded on preliminaries, with regard to the Empire ; which, with others agreed on at Lubeck and Hamburg, under the mediation of the King of Denmark, a neutral power, were the foundation of the peace that followed, seven years after, upon the treaties of Westphalia. But as to the reformation of justice, and other domestic matters, which several members of the diet insisted on, nothing was here determined ; except that the Elector of Mentz should summon an assembly at Spire, or Francfort, for the regulation of them. The day of meeting at Munster and Osnabrug, for the plenipotentiaries of the several Powers, was fixed at Hamburg, to the twenty-fifth of March 1642 ; but several obstacles happening, it was defer'd till the 10th of July 1643 : during which interval France and Sweden, that they might procure the more advantageous peace, resolved to push on the war with all possible vigor ; and with that view enter'd into a new alliance, by which the Swedes were to attack the Emperor in Germany, and the French on the Rhine.

Great success of the allies.

Marshal Guebriant, who commanded the French troops called Wemerians, and general Eberstein, who commanded those of Hesse-Cassel, not being satisfied with their winter quarters, put themselves in motion early, and march'd  
into.



into the Electorate of Cologne. Hither Hatzfeldt and Lamboy, the Imperial generals, were marching to attack them, when Guebriant, with the Hessians, intercepted the latter before their junction, and gave them a total defeat; killing 2000, and making 3000 prisoners, with all the artillery and baggage, and Lamboy himself. Encouraged by this victory, the rest of the campaign was but one continued series of success to the allies: for no sooner had Torstenfon joined the army, than he reduced Linkau in Lusatia, and Glogau, putting 800 men to the sword, and making a vast booty. Then advancing to Schweidnitz, he not only took the place; but, by a detachment, defeated a large body of troops, that were marching to its relief. Immediately after, he reduced Olmutz, the capital of Moravia, where he found an incredible quantity of ammunition and provisions. But these actions were but preludes to a general battle, which was fought the thirteenth of October 1643, at Brittenfels in Saxony. Torstenfon had laid siege to Leipfick, and fearing that the Archduke Leopold, and general Piccolomini were marching to its relief, he advanced to meet them, gave them battle, and gain'd a compleat victory; left 5000 Imperialists dead on the ground, made 1500 prisoners, took 46 pieces of cannon, 90 standards, and all the baggage, with the loss of only 500 Swedes.

Leipfick then surrendring, Torstenfon afterwards took Wildenfelt and Kennitz, and invested Freidberg: but Piccolomini, with the remains of the Imperial army, came opportunely to its relief, just as it was upon the point of surrendring, and drove away the Swedish general, killing him 200 men. And so enraged was the Imperial commander, at the disgrace he had suf-

fer'd at Brittenfels, that he obliged the Archduke to punish severely those who had not behaved well in that action. Of one regiment, the colonels, captains, and lieutenants, were condemned to be beheaded; the ensigns and subalterns to be hang'd; and the soldiers to be decimated, according to the Roman custom: but on the intercession of several persons of rank, the sentence was remitted to those who had behaved well on other occasions, and the rest had military execution. All this, and the caresses of the Emperor, did not satisfy Piccolomini, who refused to hazard his reputation again, with troops that had behaved so ill, and went off to the service of Spain, leaving his command with Gallas.

Farther  
success on  
both sides.

Olmütz having fallen again to the Imperialists, Torstenson soon retook it, routed Count Bouchain, and reduced several fortresses: in one of which, Wollenberg, he was said to have found a million of gold. Mean while Koningmark, whom he had left in Saxony, took Halberstadt, routed major-general Cracow, recover'd Camin and other places, which had surrendered for want of garisons. On the other hand, marshal Guebriant, who had been engaged the whole summer in Suabia and Franconia, with the Imperialists and Bavarians, at last defeated the latter by the assistance of some troops sent him by Thuilgen, after the battle of Ronoy, near the town of Rotcrew, which he took: but he received a cannon-shot in the siege, of which he died two days after his conquest. The death of this officer occasioned a severe disgrace to the French, who were surprized under de Rantzau, at their quarters, near Tutlingen, by the generals De Werth and Merci, and put entirely to the rout. And much about the same time happen'd

ano-

another incident, which proved no less favourable to the Imperialists and their allies. The crown of Sweden, affronted with the King of Denmark, sent Torstenson secret orders to quit Moravia and Silesia, and march with all expedition to Holstein, while Count Han made an irruption into Schonen. They gained so many advantages over the Danes, in one campaign, that several Princes interposed for an accommodation: which Torstenson did not stay to see accomplish'd; but, leaving the care of the war in Holstein to colonel Wrangel, return'd into the Empire; where he heard the Imperialists had taken advantage of his absence. He was joined at Halberstadt by major-general Koningsmark; after which he drove Gallas into Magdeburg, having first defeated him, and invested him so close, that two thirds of his men perished.

Mean while the Bavarians, under Merci, made a considerable progress in the Brisgaw, and took Friburg, before the Duke of Enguien could come up to its relief. That Prince, however, forced the Imperial general to a battle, in which, tho' the French lost the greatest number of men, they remained masters of the field, and afterwards reduced several towns. Nor did Torstenson, on his side, less turn the tables on the Imperialists, whom he harraisd to that degree, that towards the end of the year, when they retreated into Bohemia, they were reduced to about 7000 men. To re-establish these, the Emperor sent a large body of fresh troops under Blatzfeldt and Goetz; but sent them to the slaughter only: for Torstenson coming up with them, between Budweis and Tabor, cut their infantry to pieces, and routed their cavalry: 3000 men were killed on the spot, and 4000 taken, with 26 pieces of cannon,



cannon, and 63 colours and standards. Those who escaped, were so closely pursued, that one part of them were surprized at Crembs on the Danube, where the Swedes slew 1200, made the rest prisoners, and took 3000 horses: and such a terror was spread, on this occasion, thro' the Austrian hereditary countries, that the Emperor retreated from Prague to Vienna. But this defeat of the Imperialists was in some measure recompenced by that of Marshal Turenne at Mariendal, where his army was surprized and beaten by the Bavarians, under Count Merci.

Battle of  
Nordlin-  
gen.

Turenne however retreated to Hesse, where, being joined by the forces of that Electorate, and a re-inforcement under the Duke of Enguien, he marched in quest of the Enemy, and found them again at Alleisheim, near Nordlingen. There they engaged so sharply, that the left wing of each army was defeated by the right of the enemy: but general Merci being kill'd, the Imperialists retreated, and left the French masters of the field of battle, who thereupon took Nordlingen.

Peace be-  
tween  
Saxony  
and Swe-  
den, and  
the resto-  
ration of  
the Elec-  
tor of  
Treves.

In the mean while Torstenson, seeing he could not prevail on George Ragotzi, Prince of Transilvania, to act with vigor on his side, as he had engaged to do; resolved to finish the conquest of Moravia, in order to return into Saxony. But the Elector, who was not ignorant of this design, and who grew weary of a war in which he was not a principal, prevented the devastation of his dominions, by a treaty with the Swedish general, who was soon after joined by lieutenant-general Koningmark. These operations push'd on the conferences at Munster and Osnabrug, where France procured the enlargement of the Elector of Treves; and soon after,

after, by the army of Marshal Turenne, his re-establishment in his dominions.

Torstenfon and Koningmark went on success- 1646.  
fully in Moravia and Silesia, till the fortrefs of Torsten-  
Brinn put a stop to the conquests of the former ; son's re-  
who, being severely afflicted with the gout, signation,  
laid down his command about the end of the and Wran-  
year, and retired to Leipfick. Wrangel, who gel's suc-  
fucceeded him, in the begining of the fpring, cess.  
made himfelf mafter of feveral places in Weft-  
phalia, whither the Archduke Leopold advanc'd  
to oppofe him: But Wrangel being timely re-  
lieved by marſhal Turenne, they carried victory  
before them through Suabia and Franconia, and  
had taken Augfburg, but for the timely fuccours  
thrown in by the Imperialifts. In return, how-  
ever, for their being obliged to raife this fieve,  
they furprized Landfberg, in which was all the  
ammunition of the Imperial and Bavarian ar-  
mies. As this laid open to them the Electorate  
of Bavaria, they raifed contributions to the gates  
of Munich, till, having ruined the country,  
they took up winter quarters in Upper Suabia,  
where they had a fair, but ineffectual profpect,  
to have taken Lendaw.

This march, however, prevented a treaty with 1647.  
the Swifs, and another with the Elector of Ba- A fufpen-  
varia, the Emperor's chief ally, for a fufpention of  
of arms ; which was to continue for himfelf, the arms of  
Elector of Cologne, and the Landgrave of Hefle- fhort du-  
Caffel, till the conclufion of a peace. There ration.  
were feveral other articles of this treaty, all  
which, except one, for the neutrality of Ottem-  
berg, were immediately executed. Turenne  
then took Hoefft, and the Swedes Sweinfurt, and  
Egra in Bohemia: but the Electors of Bavaria  
and Cologne, on pretence that the Swedes made  
exorbitant demands at Osnabrug, foon thought  
proper

proper to infringe their truce, and were joined by Melander, the Imperial general. Wrangel, upon this, retreated towards Misnia, and the Imperialists besieged and took Marpurg: after which both sides retir'd into winter quarters, Melander in Franconia, and Wrangel in the duchy of Brunswick, and the bishopric of Minden, where he was reinforced by Koningsmark and the Hessians.

1648.  
The Imperialists  
defeated  
near Augs-  
burg.

The Swede did not wait till the spring, before he marched into the Palatinate, and joined marshal Turenne, advancing with him towards the Danube. This river they cross'd at Lawingen, where, being informed that part of the Imperial army were on the march towards Augsburg, separate from the Bavarians, they attacked them so vigorously, that they killed them 4000 men, among whom was their general Melander. The Bavarians, and the rest of the Imperialists, retiring hereupon into Lower Bavaria, the allies were masters of all between the Inn and the Iser.

Prague be-  
sieged in  
vain.

It was to little purpose, that the Emperor, to repair his loss, constituted Octavio Piccolomini general of his armies, and drew what troops he could out of Bohemia: for by this last measure, he expos'd the city of Prague to an attempt of general Koningsmark, who was encouraged in it by an Imperial officer, that had deserted. He surprized the little town, and made several attempts on the old and new city, before Charles Gustavus, Prince Palatine, declared generalissimo of the Swedes, came to take on him the command: but neither the presence of this Prince, nor a reinforcement of 8 or 9000 men, which he brought with him, could overcome the resolution of Count Colerado the governor, who held



held out till news came of the conclusion of a general peace.

The Swedes being chagrin'd that a stop was put to the torrent of their success; the Emperor, at the same time, fearing the loss of all Bohemia if Prague were taken; France having an opportunity of making advantage to herself, and being obliged to continue the war with Spain in Italy, Catalonia, and the Netherlands, without the assistance of Holland; no wonder that all parties were willing to come to an accommodation. This happy disposition overcame all the difficulties, which had protracted the conferences for this year; and procured a conclusion of the negotiations both at Osnabrug and Munster, almost at the same time. The two treaties were signed at the latter of these places, on the 24th of October. Immediately an end was put to all hostilities, and the crown'd heads seemed willing to outvie each other in executing punctually the ratifications. Only the Pope's nuntio, cardinal Chigi, protested against the treaty in the articles of religion; and his master, Innocent X, published a bull, declaring null all that had been transacted.

The number and importance of the interests, decided by these famous treaties, and the regulations they established, which have ever since been the basis of all future pacifications, shew the abilities of those who drew them up, the motives of the war they put an end to, and makes an abstract of them worthy a place, even in this short history of the house of Austria.

By the treaty of Osnabrug, between Sweden and the Empire, “ the latter was left in possession of the  
“ of all the Hither Pomerania, the island of Rugen, Stetin, and some other places in the Further Pomerania; the mouth of the Oder, Wismar,  
“ the

The peace  
of West-  
phalia.

Importance of  
those treaties.

Abstract  
Treaty of  
Osnabrug.

“ the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bi-  
 “ shopric of Ferden. And in recompence to  
 “ the Elector of Brandenburg, to whom part of  
 “ Pomerania belonged, a cession was made to  
 “ him of the archbishopric of Halberstadt, the  
 “ principality of Minden, the county of Ho-  
 “ henstein, and the archbishopric of Magde-  
 “ burg.” It was expressly stipulated, that this  
 treaty should have no effect, till that with  
 France was concluded at Munster.

And of  
 that of  
 Munster.

By this latter it was agreed, amongst other  
 things, “ That the circle of Burgundy should  
 “ remain a member of the Empire, after the dif-  
 “ ferences between France and Spain, regard-  
 “ ing these provinces, were adjusted; that the  
 “ disputes concerning Lorrain should be submit-  
 “ ted to arbiters on both sides, or terminated  
 “ in some other amicable way; that the Em-  
 “ peror should restore all that he with-held from  
 “ the Elector of Treves, and indemnify him  
 “ of the losses he had suffer’d in his patrimony;  
 “ that the electoral dignity, possessed formerly  
 “ by the Elector Palatine, with all its preroga-  
 “ tives, the Upper Palatinate, and the county  
 “ of Chamb, should remain to Maximilian  
 “ Duke of Bavaria, and all the male descend-  
 “ ants of the Gulielmine line: and on these  
 “ conditions Maximilian renounced all preten-  
 “ sions on the Upper Austria, and a debt of  
 “ three millions of florins.

“ To make the Palatine amends, an eighth  
 “ Electorate was established, to be enjoyed by  
 “ Charles-Lewis, Count Palatine of the Rhine,  
 “ and his descendants of the Rodolphine branch.  
 “ The Lower Palatinate was also restored him,  
 “ in the same extent, and with the same rights,  
 “ that his predecessors had enjoyed it, before  
 “ the troubles of Bohemia: and if the Guliel-

“ mine line should happen to fail, the Rodol-  
“ phine still subsisting, not only the Upper Pa-  
“ latinate, but the electoral rank, of which the  
“ Dukes of Bavaria were in possession, were to  
“ return to the Counts Palatine, and the eighth  
“ electorate to be then suppressed.

It stipulated also, “ That those of the confes-  
“ sion of Augsburg, who had been in possession  
“ of churches, should be preserved in the same  
“ liberties they had enjoyed in 1624 ; and that  
“ it should be free for others, who might em-  
“ brace the same religion, to exercise it publicly  
“ in churches, at the appointed hours, as well  
“ as in private : That the most christian King  
“ should restore to the Duke of Wirtemberg,  
“ Hostenweil, Tubingen, and other places he  
“ had taken from him : That the branch of  
“ Montbeliard should be re-established in its do-  
“ minions in Alsatia, and elsewhere : That the  
“ Electors, Princes, and States of the Roman  
“ Empire, should be confirmed in their ancient  
“ rights and privileges, without being disturbed  
“ in them by any person whatsoever ; that they  
“ should enjoy, without contradiction, their  
“ votes in all deliberations touching the affairs  
“ of the Empire, especially in regard to the in-  
“ terpretation of cases, the resolving on war,  
“ imposing of tribute, ordering the levy and  
“ quarters of soldiers, and making of peace and  
“ alliances : That none of these things, or  
“ things of a like nature, should be done with-  
“ out the advice and consent of a free assembly  
“ of all the States of the Empire : That, above  
“ all, each of the said States should enjoy freely,  
“ and for ever, the right of making alliances  
“ among themselves, or with foreigners, for  
“ their respective preservation and security ;  
“ provided such alliances were not against the  
“ Emperor,



“ Emperor, the Empire, or the terms of this  
 “ treaty : That the States of the Empire should  
 “ assemble in fix months, and afterwards, as of-  
 “ ten as the public utility required it : That in  
 “ the first diet the defaults of the assemblies  
 “ should be corrected ; the election of a King of  
 “ the Romans ; the Imperial capitulation ; the  
 “ manner and order of putting Princes and  
 “ States under the ban of the Empire ; the re-  
 “ establiſhment of the circles ; the renewal of  
 “ the Matricula ; the reformation of justice and  
 “ police, should be treated of, and regulated :  
 “ That the free cities should have a decisive  
 “ voice in these general and particular diets ;  
 “ and that no one should invade their rights of  
 “ making confiscations, and raising of im-  
 “ posts.

It farther stipulated, “ That, for the confir-  
 “ mation of the peace, the supreme lordship  
 “ over the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Ver-  
 “ dun, and the cities of those names, their de-  
 “ pendencies, and in particular Moyenvic,  
 “ should pertain to, and be incorporated with  
 “ the crown of France, saving the rights of  
 “ the Archbishop of Treves, as metropolitan :  
 “ That the most christian King should enjoy all  
 “ the rights that the Emperor, or Empire,  
 “ might have on Pignerol, Brisac, the Landgra-  
 “ viates of the Upper and Lower Alsatia, the  
 “ district of Suntgau, and the provincial prefec-  
 “ ture of the ten Imperial cities, situated in Al-  
 “ satia ; but this to extend only to the rights of  
 “ the house of Austria, the city of Strasburg,  
 “ with the other Orders and States of both Al-  
 “ satias, remaining as before to the Roman  
 “ Empire : That France should have a right for-  
 “ ever to keep a garison in the fortrefs of Phi-  
 “ lipsburg, by way of precaution, and a free  
 “ passage

“ passage to it by land or water ; the property  
 “ of the place, with the revenues and jurif-  
 “ diction, still continuing to the bishop and  
 “ chapter of Spires : That the fortifications of  
 “ Benfeldt, the forts of Rhinan, Gavenne, Ho-  
 “ lenbar, and Neuburg upon the Rhine, should  
 “ be demolished : That no forts should be rais’d  
 “ upon the banks on this side the Rhine, from  
 “ Basel to Philipsburg : That the most chris-  
 “ tian King should restore to the house of  
 “ Austria, and particularly to the arch-duke  
 “ Ferdinand-Charles, son of Leopold, the four  
 “ forest cities, Rheinfelden, Seckingen, Auffen-  
 “ burg, and Waldshut, with the Brisgaw, and  
 “ the Octrav ; and that he should moreover  
 “ pay to the said arch-duke, in compensation  
 “ for what was given up, three millions of livres  
 “ in the three next succeeding years, and ac-  
 “ quit him of two thirds of the debts of the  
 “ chamber of Ensisheim. Finally, to prevent  
 “ the differences that might arise between the  
 “ Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, it was stipulated,  
 “ that the treaty of Querasco, made in April  
 “ 1631, with the execution of it, regarding  
 “ Montferrat, should remain firm in all its ar-  
 “ ticles ; except with regard to Pignerol, sold  
 “ to the French, who should pay the Duke of  
 “ Mantua 494, 00 crowns, which Lewis XIII  
 “ had promised for the Duke of Savoy’s dis-  
 “ charge.”

It has been observed of this treaty, that it Reflecti-  
 was more glorious than advantageous to the onson this  
 French crown, and perfectly agreeable to the af- treaty.  
 surances it had given, during this long war, that  
 it fought only for the liberty of the Princes of  
 the Empire. Tho’ the Germans since, from  
 the encroaching behaviour of the house of  
 Bourbon, have conceived a prejudice against  
 France,

France, it cannot be denied that without her assistance, and that of Sweden, the house of Austria had, at this time, enslaved her. But the treaty of Munster brought back Germany to its antient form, and put the Emperor upon the footing he had formerly, and since enjoy'd, that of Head, not Master of the whole Empire. It also established an equality of power between the Protestants and the Catholics, that one might not crush the other, and that Germany, always divided by different religions, might with difficulty be brought to a perfect union. Without this division, a country so powerful, and so fertile in men, would, with an absolute master at the head, have swallowed up all its neighbours: for it is not so much the multitude of people that renders a nation formidable to others, as the manner of its government. This gives France her present influence, which she has acquir'd, as Germany lost hers, upon the plan of cardinal Richelieu. That minister, who broke the power of the French princes and nobility, projected the sketch of the treaty we have now survey'd, which raised the authority of the Germanic body. It was for this he engaged in the war, and it must be owned to have been on a principle truly political, as it has since turned more than any thing to the aggrandizing of France; nor would he have concluded a peace upon lower terms than Mazarine did, if he had lived, as he did not, by near six years, to put the last hand himself to these negotiations.

These reflections, I hope, will not be thought a digression, when it is considered they are made at the most critical period of the Austrian greatness, when the balance of power was first suspended against it, that balance which ever since  
has



has been turning in favour of the house of Bourbon.

As to Sweden, many difficulties occurred, <sup>Lesser dif-</sup> with regard to the execution of the peace. <sup>How-ferences</sup> ever, towards the end of the year 1649 Charles <sup>adjusted.</sup> Gustavus drew off his troops, and all lesser differences were terminated in 1650, in the treaty of Nuremberg.

Tho' Ferdinand lived seven years after this, <sup>Conclu-</sup> as they were all spent in peace, we have little to <sup>sion of</sup> say of them here. In 1651, he held a diet at <sup>Ferdi-</sup> Ratisbon, in which the Swedish minister was ad- <sup>nand's</sup> mitted; but pretending to a deliberative voice <sup>reign.</sup> in the election of the King of the Romans, which the Emperor was soliciting for his son, that assembly was dissolved, and the electoral college summoned at Augsburg. There young Ferdinand was chosen, and crown'd in 1653, by the name of Ferdinand IV: but he dying the next year, left his brother Leopold-Ignatius the heir of his house. That Prince, tho' but fourteen years of age, was crowned King of Hungary in 1655, and of Bohemia in 1656: but before his father procured him to be elected King of the Romans, his Imperial Majesty was ~~himself~~ arrested by death, on the 22d of April 1657, at the age of 49 years.

If we may judge from the exploits of his <sup>His cha-</sup> youth, Ferdinand III had more personal cou- <sup>racter and</sup> rage than any of his line since Charles V: He <sup>issue.</sup> forced the city of Ratisbon, won the battle of Nordlingen, drove the Swedes out of Bavaria, Suabia, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg. By Mary of Austria, his first wife, he left Leopold, his successor, and Mary of Spain: by his second, Leopoldine, daughter to the arch-duke Leopold, he had Charles-Joseph, who died in 1654, aged thirteen years: and by his last, Eleanor de  
N  
Gonzaga,

Gonzaga, he had Ferdinand-Charles, who died very young.



## C H A P. VIII.

The reign of the Emperor LEOPOLD.

1658.  
Leopold's  
election.



AS the Archduke LEOPOLD was a younger brother, he was educated at first with a view to the church; of which education, perhaps, he bore some tincture to the end of his days. But the death of his brother, and afterwards of his father, leaving in him the sole right to the hereditary dominions of his house, and a sort of presumptive claim to the Imperial dignity, the eyes of Europe were turn'd upon him as the hopes of his family. It was in vain that cardinal Mazarine set up his master, Lewis XIV, in competition with him for the Imperial crown, tho' the French monarch had then arrived at the age prescribed by the Germanic constitution, and Leopold had not. The fidelity and care of the Archduke his uncle, Leopold-William, and the general voice of the Empire, procured the holding of an electoral diet on the 9th of June, 1658, the very day he came of age; when he was elected by a majority, and crown'd at Frankfort the 1st of July following. The age prescribed for an Emperor is, 18; so that from the death of Ferdinand III, to the election of Leopold, there was an interregnum of 14 months. He was pretty strictly bound down by the capitulation sworn to at his coronation, to prevent the like encroachments on liberty that had been made

by

by his predecessors ; yet did he in a great measure by policy, what he durst not attempt by force, and obtain'd a great influence all over Europe.

Charles-Gustavus, Prince Palatine, who had succeeded to the crown of Sweden upon the re-nunciation of Christina, had been so fortunate in his war with the Poles, that the Emperor, in conjunction with Denmark and Brandenburg, thought proper to assist the latter. This confederacy, in some measure, stopt the progress of the King of Sweden ; but the death of that monarch, and the peace of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, made way for the treaty of Oliva, in 1660, which restored harmony among the Princes of the North, with reciprocal advantages on all sides.

1659.  
Affairs of  
the North.

The same year the Turks attack'd Ragotzi, Prince of Transilvania, who had made himself master of Great Waradin ; and tho' that Prince, soon after, died there, Ali Bashaw went on so successively, that he recover'd the place to his master, granting the garison an honourable capitulation. The Transilvanians, alarm'd at this, implored the assistance of the Emperor ; deposed Barclay, whom the Turks had imposed on them for Prince, and elected Kemenius. Leopold promised to support them ; but at the same time amused the Turks with assurances of friendship, till he got time to garison several places in Transilvania. Then the Bashaw of Buda, seeing himself impos'd on, marched into Imperial Hungary, and put all there to the sword. Count Serini having enflamed the quarrel, an open war ensued between the Sultan and Leopold ; and the Imperialists were defeated near Clausenberg, with great loss. In this action the Transilvanians were divided, part of them being for Michael Abasi to be their Prince, instead of Kemenius ;

1661.



and the latter being killed soon after, in another battle, Abaffi actually succeeded. He assisted the Turks in the siege of Clausenberg, which however general Schmeidau, with a small army, obliged them to raise, and brought the Grand Vizir to discover pacific inclinations: but these ended only in resolutions to renew the war, with haughty contemptuous menaces on the part of the Turk.

1662.  
The Em-  
peror a-  
mused by  
the Porte.

Young Kuperli, having succeeded his father in the vizirate, made great preparations for executing his designs; but still seem'd attentive to the Imperial proposals. In short, the court of Vienna was entirely the dupe of Ottoman policy, notwithstanding repeated advice sent from their resident at Constantinople, that the Porte was not sincere. Leopold had, indeed, great ground of apprehensions from the side of Alsatia, which made him willing to keep in good terms with the Turks. With this view he offer'd to demolish a fort built by Serini, which gave the chief cause of disgust: but Kuperli still rose in his demands, and kept the Emperor secure, till of a sudden, he marches a great army into Hungary, and insists, not on the demolition, but surrender of Serini's fort, and several other places, to the Sultan. Even this too was on the point of being accepted, when the Imperial ministry were informed farther, that their master must, moreover, reimburse to the Porte two millions of crowns for the charges of the war, and pay an annual tribute of 50,000 florins. This extravagant demand opened their eyes, and let them see that peace had not been intended, and they were little prepared for war: but in a diet, that was held with all expedition, vigorous resolutions

resolutions were taken to oppose the enemy, and the city of Vienna was furnished with a year's provisions.

The Vizir's first attempt was upon Neuhausel, from whence Torgatz, the Imperial governor, made a bold sally upon the Turks, which at first was successful: but the enemy, in the morning, seeing what a small number the Imperialists were, hem'd them in, kill'd 400, and took the rest, to the number of 1800, prisoners; who were all condemn'd to die by the hands of the executioner, and 13 or 1400 of them actually suffer'd. Torgatz, however, by the stratagem of desiring to treat, kept the Ottomans at a distance for some time, while he introduced 1000 men from the army of Montecuculi, to reinforce his garison. Kuperli, all this while, was resolved to carry his point; and, as his army was numerous, sent out detachments during the siege, who ravag'd Austria and Moravia, advancing within five miles of Vienna, which the Emperor abandoned, and retired to Lintz: but all the success was not on that side; Count Serini, with his Croatian army, making inroads no less wasteful on the Turkish confines, and bringing off great quantities of money and provisions. Yet this could not save Neuhausel, the garison of which, after a brave resistance, having their chief magazine blown up, were obliged to surrender on conditions. Such terror was now spread in the Imperial dominions, that the people thought of little but submitting to the enemy. At Presburg, for some time, they refused to admit an Imperial garison, and were at last over-persuaded into it; while Nisra and Novigrad fell into the hands of the Vizir, who was not equally successful before

1663.  
The siege  
of Neu-  
hausel, &c.

Schinta, the Emperor's magazine: he had besides the mortification to hear, that a large detachment, which he had sent to make incursions, during the winter, into Croatia and Stiria, had been defeated by Count Serini, and most of them either killed, or drowned in their attempting to repass the river Muer.

1664.  
Serini's  
success.

After this, the gallant count, with an army of 25,000 men, shew'd himself before several places, which surrendered; burnt the famous city of Esseck, and took Five-churches by storm: but at last was obliged, on the approach of 12,000 Turks, to raise the siege of Sigeth. Mean while, his brother Peter, whom he had left governor of Serinswar, the new fortress, which gave the first pretence for a rupture, routed an army that was coming to besiege it. But the success was not equal on the side of Transilvania, where Zechelhyd and Clausenberg fell into the hands of Prince Abassi, who insulted the Imperial frontiers.

The States of the Empire were forward in raising their stipulated quotas, and the King of France sent 8000 men to the aid of Leopold. The Pope, though he sent no troops, endeavour'd to supply that defect with money.

Siege of  
Serinswar,  
&c.

Canisia being streightened by Count Serini's success, that general's next view was to besiege it. He communicated his design to the council of war, who entirely approv'd it, and his Imperial Majesty ordered the necessary supplies. This siege however was unsuccessful, through the slowness of Montecuculi in bringing up the succours; the Grand Vizir arriving with 100,000 men, and obliging him to raise it. A difference hence ensued between the two generals; whereupon Montecuculi, in revenge, turn'd Serini's garrison out of Serinswar, and put in troops of  
his



his own, who suffer'd that important place to fall into the hands of the Turks.

To balance which loss, however, Count Soife, Count who had a separate command from Montecuculi, retook Nifra, and, having defeated a body of near 20,000 of the enemy, seized on Leventz. Enraged at this latter loss, the Turks, under Chufaien Bashaw, attempted to recover it; but met with the same treatment from the valiant Count Soife, as their brethren had done; leaving dead and prisoners 6000 men, a booty of 4000 carts, 1000 horses, 12 pieces of cannon, and all their tents, baggage, and ammunition. After this, the count attacked Barcan, a fortress opposite to Gran, and pressed it so closely, that the inhabitants set it on fire, and retreated over to Gran. But this brave general, amidst his success, found he had such enemies in the Imperial court, that he resigned his commission; which was restored, however, some time after, with the government of Comara.

Kuperli, nothing discourag'd at these losses, advanced with his main army, and on the 17th of July, attempting to pass the Raab, was repulsed by Montecuculi: but making another essay the first of August, they got over about half their army. Then followed a sharp and bloody battle, near a place call'd St Gothard; in which fortune was for some hours wavering, and the Imperialists were at last on the point of founding a retreat; but hearing that Count Serini was come up, and had fallen on the camp on the other side the river, Montecuculi renewed the engagement, and obtained a signal victory. Eight thousand Turks fell on the spot, which, with those kill'd in the pursuit, or drowned in the Raab, made the whole number about 17,000. On the other side, 3000 only were lost.

Battle of  
St Gothard.

booty was sixteen pieces of cannon, 126 ensigns, the Vizir's standard, 5000 scymetars, and many horses. The French auxiliaries, under Coligni, behaved well in this action.

Peace between the Emperor and the Turk.

In consequence of this victory, a peace was soon concluded between the Emperor and the Turk ; by which Transilvania was confirm'd to Abassi, the towns of Nisra and Gutta to the Emperor, and those of Waradin and Neuhausel to the Sultan. It settled a few other points, without making any considerable alteration in the limits of the two empires. Several minuter things were left to plenipotentiaries ; of which I shall not give the detail.

Which the Hungarians at last accede to.

As all Europe wonder'd at this sudden pacification, with so little advantage to the Emperor, who had it in his power to push on the success of his arms ; the Hungarians in particular, being incensed with the Emperor, for taking away their churches, and the outrages committed on them by the German soldiers, refused to ratify the conditions of peace, which they declared to be injurious to their nation, whom it left in a worse condition than before this advantageous war. The chief of the Hungarian body were summoned therefore to Vienna ; where, after a bold and generous defence of their rights and liberties, they obliged the Emperor, before they would sign the treaty, to make such concessions as they demanded. Leopold “ took on “ himself the building some forts, at his own “ charge, on the Waag, the expence of which “ had been before fixed on the Hungarians ; promised to withdraw his German troops, and “ leave natives only in their room ; that their “ churches should be restored ; that all places of “ trust and profit, both civil and military, “ should be put into the hands of Hungarians ; “ and

“ and that they might, at pleasure, place what  
“ forces and commanders they pleased in the  
“ garisons of the mountain towns, and other for-  
“ tresses.” Whereupon the lords, who had re-  
moved their crown, to prevent the Emperor from  
taking possession of it in right of inheritance,  
brought it back again to Presburg. But of  
this facility they soon repented, when they saw  
that the Imperial council had only amused them,  
and that in reality they had obtained nothing, in  
regard either to property or religion. The dis-  
content spread among the Catholics, as well as  
the Protestants, till the whole nation seemed to  
agree, that, if they must be slaves, they would  
rather be so to the Turks, than to the Ger-  
mans.

The next year was remarkable only for a so- 1665 &c.  
lemn embassy sent from the Porte to Vienna, Several  
for exchange of prisoners between the Otto- affairs  
mans and Austrians, after the affair had been  
long under consideration ; and for the death of  
Sigismund-Francis, Count of Tirol, whose estates  
devolved to the Emperor, who now united, in  
his own person, all the Austrian dominions in  
Germany : as was the following, 1666, for the  
marriage of the Emperor with Margaret-Ther-  
esa, infanta of Spain. Leopold then concluded  
a peace between Bernard de Galen, bishop of  
Munster, and the States-General, and sent suc-  
cours into Flanders, to assist the King of Spain,  
who was attacked by Lewis XIV, in right of  
his Queen the elder Infanta : but this dispute  
was terminated in 1668, by the treaty of Aix la  
Chapelle, which however did not long subsist.

But what chiefly deserves our attention, in this Leopold  
part of the reign of Leopold, is the troubles of aims at  
Hungary, which begining about the year 1669, making  
continued, with short intermissions, for near Hungary  
half heredi-  
tary.



half a century. It was ever the fault of the Austrian Princes, that they have still been anxious to extend their prerogative. He we are speaking of, notwithstanding the moderation he professed, either through his own natural ambition, or prompted on by his council, was no sooner master of the crown of Hungary, but he began to think of making himself absolute in that kingdom, and leaving the throne hereditary to his posterity. This could not be done, without overthrowing the fundamental laws of the nation, which fix in the States the power of electing their own Kings; yet did Leopold in some measure effect it, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

Supplies  
the place  
of Ban.

The first step he took, was upon the death of Count Wesselini, who had been possessed of that great post of Ban, or perpetual governor of Hungary. That employ, which was in the gift of the people, and instituted on purpose to protect them, and to maintain the laws and privileges of the nation, was a sort of counterbalance to the regal authority; which could not, therefore, be greatly extended, without the suppression of it. In order to prevent the filling up of this office, Leopold sent governors of his own nominating, and who were always Germans, that they might be the more subservient to his will.

Executes  
some of  
the chief  
of the nobility.

Count Serini, one of the chief of the Hungarian nobility, and the most concerned for the privileges of his country, easily dived into the designs of the court of Vienna; and seeing the Germans brought into all the strong towns, and possessed of the chief employments in the kingdom, which, by the laws, ought not to be bestowed on any but natural-born Hungarians, he could not refrain expressing his resentment among his friends, in some loud complaints.

This

This, considered with his great interest, was sufficient to ruin him with the ever-jealous Imperial court, where he was looked upon as a disaffected person. His brother had lost his life before, in a hunting-match, being killed in the midst of a wood, as it was thought by contrivance : but it was given out, that a hurt received by a wild boar had brought him to his end. The resentment that the survivor might be presumed to have on this account, was thought to be in him an additional crime : but the greatest of all was his vast estate, which the ministers at Vienna might hope to share among them, if they could make him suffer for high-treason. The same cause involved three others of the prime nobility, the Counts Nadaſti his brother-in-law, Taternbach, and Frangipani, in the accusation of a conspiracy. It was said of Nadaſti, that he had formed a design to poison the Emperor ; and that, failing therein through the care of his wife, he united with the rest to bring about a revolution in his country. Whether or no such an association was actually formed, or whether the whole charge, with the authorities it was said to be grounded on, were pure invention, it is hard to determine ; but so were things managed, that they were brought in guilty, and all of them executed, and their estates seized. Nadaſti, besides lands, had eight millions of livres in ready money, which was a notable prize to the court. His children, eleven in number, were obliged to take the name of Creuzenberg ; and the son of Serini was ordered to call himself Gade.

Nor was this all the council of Vienna did, <sup>Ruins Se-</sup> to compleat the ruin of a family that was be- <sup>rini's fa-</sup> come obnoxious. As by the laws of Hungary, <sup>mily.</sup> the great estates are unalienable, and the son cannot

cannot be deprived of his inheritance even for rebellion in the father, young Serini made complaint of the injustice done him: but, instead of being restored to his patrimony, pretences were at last found to cast him into prison, where he continued the remainder of his days. These proceedings so exasperated the whole nation, that they resolved, almost unanimously, for the future, to let slip no opportunity of recovering their laws and privileges; and hence arose all those struggles they have since made, in the reigns both of Leopold and Joseph. Prince Francis Ragotzi, who so long headed the malcontents, was the son of a daughter of the elder Serini, who was married, before her father's catastrophe, to Frederick Ragotzi, Prince of Transilvania.

The  
Count  
Tekeli.

Count Stephen Tekeli, a nobleman also of the first rank, was the next who fell under the displeasure of the Imperial court. He was accused of being concerned in Serini's conspiracy, tho' his riches, like the other unhappy sufferers, was his chief crime. The severe usage he met with provoked the Hungarians yet farther, and even disposed them to rise in his favour. He was besieged by colonel Heister, in his own castle of Hus, where he died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, leaving his son Emeric not above fifteen years of age. The young Count immediately quitted the castle, and was pursued by the Imperialists from place to place, till at last he escaped into Transilvania: All his effects were then confiscated, and his lands ravaged: but he soon obtained the good graces of Michael Abaffi, the Transilvanian Prince, who engaged to assist the Hungarians against the exactions of the court of Vienna.

Mean



Mean time, the Emperor thinking he had 1671.  
fully quell'd this brave nation, summoned a diet The Hun-  
at Presburg ; to which few of the nobility or garians  
deputies coming, because they would not concur oppressed.  
with the abrogation of their antient laws, he  
publish'd a declaration of his sole authority, re-  
gulating the number of soldiers to be quarter'd  
all over the country, and requiring the Hunga-  
rians to submit to this military government,  
which consisted of 30,000 men. By the terror  
of these he raised new impositions, and confis-  
cated what estates he thought proper. And thus  
did he rule them like a conquered people, pre-  
tending that their liberties were forfeited by the  
revolt of their leaders, till by degrees he pro-  
voked them to a general insurrection. For the  
present, however, they were forced to submit,  
Duke Charles of Lorrain reducing by force all  
who resisted ; the last of whom was the countess  
Wesselini, who defended her castle for some  
time, but was at last obliged to capitulate, and  
receive a German garison.

Lewis XIV having declared war against the 1672.  
States General, the Emperor sent 10,000 foot Rise of  
and 5000 horse, in conjunction with the troops the war  
of Brandenburg, to their assistance ; tho' in a on the  
treaty made the year before, with the French Rhine.  
monarch, he had engaged to remain neuter, in  
case of any attack on the United Provinces. This  
step of Leopold drew on the war upon the  
Rhine, which was carried on successfully by the  
French during the life of marshal Turenne :  
but that great general being killed in 1675, af-  
fairs turned again in the Emperor's favour, which  
facilitated the peace of Nimeguen, under the  
mediation of the King of England. But before  
I enter on the particulars of this war, I must

proceed a little farther with the affairs of Hungary.

1673, &c.  
Troubles  
in Hun-  
gary.

As nothing is more apt to cause discord among a people than the diversity of religions, no wonder that this should have its effect in Hungary, which was divided into three parties, Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists : but the sovereign being a Catholic, that religion was indulged to the prejudice of both the other, whose churches the bishops, by connivance of the court, were suffer'd to take away. This, added to the civil oppressions, occasion'd a new insurrection, the leaders of which rais'd together 12,000 men. Tekeli, whom Prince Abaffi had sent for that purpose, was at their head. This young general, animated with the desire of revenge, made a surprising progress ; penetrated into Lower Hungary ; besieg'd and took Gran. The Turks, under the same pretence of maintaining the Hungarian liberties, took this opportunity of putting themselves in motion. The transactions on both sides were so many, and with such various successs, that I shall only enumerate the chief of them. These were, the taking of Debresin, in 1676, by count Strazold ; the beating up the quarters of colonel Colalto, near Zatmar, and the defeating the generals Smith and Boragotzi, by the malcontents, the same year ; their junction with a body of Poles and Tartars, under young count Wesselini in 1677 ; two actions, with reverse of fortune, between the Turks and Imperialists, in 1678 ; an ineffectual congress the same year, for pacifying matters between the malcontents and their sovereign ; in a word, the conferences, proposals, suspensions, renewals of hostility, that happen'd in a course of about eight years, till at last, the Emperor making some concessions, a truce was concluded in 1681. But this

was

was of short duration, the Turks prevailing on Tekeli to renew the war in 1682, with a promise of making him Prince of Transilvania, after the death of Abaffi.

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While the Emperor Leopold saw himself thus The mal- on the brink of ruin, the malcontents openly contents avow'd their right of deposing him, and chusing elect a new King in his stead. They accordingly pro- Tekeli. ceeded to exert this right, declaring that Leopold, as King of Hungary, having violated all the known laws of the constitution, was fallen from his authority, and that they elected Emeric Count Tekeli in his room. It is indeed certain, that by the fundamental law of that kingdom, call'd St Andrew's law, the crown was always elective; that they gave an instance of their deposing power in the person of Peter the German, and



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and election of Aban, and that, by the same law, one of their own Counts is to be chosen preferably to any sovereign Prince, the latter being eligible only for services done to the nation. Very plausible, therefore, were the proceedings of these nobles, and Tekeli, if success had all along attended him, must have remained King of Hungary with an undoubted title.

Character  
of the  
Emperor  
Leopold.

It may be proper here, as we are entering upon a war which his own oppressions seemingly brought on him, to give some idea of the character of the Emperor Leopold, a Prince that will ever be famous in history, for the various turns of fortune he underwent. He was of a gloomy temper, yet affable; took a delight in bestowing favours, but bestow'd them without discretion; chose his ministers without judgment, and by that means was exceedingly ill served. It was not therefore his actual fault that his subjects were miserable, but the fault of his ministers, who made the worst use of his facility and beneficence to satiate their own avarice. This was the true source of the Hungarians discontent, which brought on him the present war, and reduced him to the utmost distress.

1683.  
Motives  
of the two  
armies.

The Imperial army retired, upon the approach of the Turks, to the neighbourhood of Raab, to cover the frontier places, which the enemy might have easily taken in their march, as they were neither well fortified nor provided with good garisons. Cara-Mustapha, Grand Vizir to Mahomet IV, without regarding the places he left behind him, was hastening towards Vienna, a prize that flatter'd his avarice, and which he thought would fall immediately into his hands. He only sent a large detachment of Spahis and Tartars to ravage the territory about Raab and Rabwitz, and to keep the duke of Lorrain, who commanded



commanded the Imperialists, in continual alarms. The duke, by retiring with his army, acted very prudently ; but as he drew off with great precipitation, to post himself in the isle of Tabor, near the bridge of Vienna, his troops naturally fell into disorder upon the march. The Tartars, who fell upon them sabre in hand, had completed their ruin, if Prince Lewis of Baden, with a few regiments that preserved their order, had not come to his relief. In this action Lewis-Julius of Savoy, the brother of Eugene, receiv'd a contusion, of which he died some days after at Vienna.

Leopold was obliged to abandon his capital, and fly with his Empress, then big with child. The Turks open'd the trenches before that city, and were upon the point of reducing it, when the succours expected from Poland arrived, under the conduct of King John Sobieski himself. The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony brought at the same time 22,000 men, and all these bodies united made an army of 100,000 strong, which was a match for 200,000 Turks. In a word, on the 12th of September the Infidels were beaten : they abandon'd their artillery, their baggage, a prodigious number of horses, and immense riches. Eugene was a volunteer in this action, and had given him, three months after, a vacant regiment of dragoons.

His Imperial Majesty, after this glorious victory, resolved to take advantage of the enemy's consternation, and make a bold push, at once, to humble the Hungarians, and drive the Infidels out of Austria. He order'd the Duke of Lorrain, early in the spring, to lead the army into Hungary ; and as soon as the troops were assembled, the siege of Buda was resolved on. The Duke advanced with his cavalry, took Neu-  
1684.  
Progress of  
the Impe-  
rialists.

hausel by the way, and after it Vicegrad. He had left his baggage at Gran, where the Turks attempted to surprize it: but fail'd of their purpose, tho' the brave colonel Hallevil, who defended it, fell in the action. Duke Charles then marching on to Weitzen, defeated a body of 20,000 Turks, took the place, and advanced to Pest, which stood on the Danube opposite to Buda. The Turkish garison, upon his approach, destroy'd the fortifications, set fire to the place, and retired to Buda over a bridge of boats. The Imperialists attempted to extinguish the flames, and instantly attacked and carried the bridge, notwithstanding a continual fire from the ramparts of Buda. After repairing the fortifications, they left some regiments to preserve this post, which however was too much exposed for them to keep it long.

The  
Turks de-  
feated.

All obstacles to the projected siege being removed, the Duke returned to Weitzen, where in a council of war the enterprize was resolved on, and the army repassed the Danube to attempt it. As he expected soon to be attacked by the Turks, he took post in the isle of St Andrew, and extended his two wings from the river to the foot of an impassable mountain, the center being defended by a large morass. The Turks, without imagining that the whole Imperial army could so suddenly pass the Danube, advanced in order to give battle, conducted by thirteen Bashaws. The attack began on the right wing, and the left following soon after, the engagement became general, except just in the center, which was cover'd by the morass before-mentioned. After two efforts to break the wings of the Imperialists, the Turks were driven back to St Andrew's church. Here they rallied again, and returned to the charge: but were as  
wel

well received as before, and at last entirely routed. It was the Savoy regiment of dragoons, commanded by Prince Eugene their colonel; that first obliged the Infidels to give ground. They left several thousand dead on the spot : but the loss of the Imperialists, either in officers or men, was very inconsiderable.

The routed army retired to the side of Buda, <sup>Buda be-  
sieged.</sup> whither the Duke of Lorrain followed it closely.

Buda, or Offen, was formerly the residence of the Kings of Hungary, till Sultan Soliman became master of it in 1541 ; since when the Christians had often attempted in vain to retake it. It was now garison'd by 18,000 men, including 15,000 janissaries that escaped at the action of St Andrew, and had thrown themselves into the city, with five Bashaws at their head. Cará-Mahomet Bashaw, the governor; was one of the bravest of all the Turkish officers, and knew better how to make a regular defence, than the Turks at that time usually did. When the trenches were opened, and batteries raised, the Imperialists began to make a terrible fire ; but were driven back to a powder-mill at some distance, in a fall from the besieged. At that instant came up five fresh battalions, which encouraged the rest to rally, and obliged the Turks to re-enter the town. About 200 Christians were killed in this action, and among them were some officers of distinction.

Next day Count Staremberg was commanded <sup>The low-  
er town</sup> to storm the lower town, by two breaches <sup>carried,</sup> which the artillery had made. The enemy abandoned it on his approach, having first set fire to the buildings, and retired to the upper town. They did the same by a house they had garison'd below the city, at the first discharge of cannon against it.



A body of  
Turks  
routed.

In the mean time, the Duke of Lorrain received advice, that a body of 12,000 Turks, commanded by the Seraskier, lay within half a league of Buda, and instantly advanced to attack them with his horse, and a few regiments of foot, before they could be joined by other troops; leaving the rest of the infantry to defend the lines. He came up with them on the 22d of July, and that instant began the charge. The Seraskier quitted his intrenchments, and received the Germans in such good order, that victory was a long time in suspense. At length it declared for the latter, in a great measure thro' the bravery of young Eugene, to whom the general, in his letter to the Emperor, ascribed much of the glory of the action. Tho' the Seraskier carried off his artillery, and got together the remains of his army, he durst not hazard a second engagement, but fought only a place of security.

The siege  
raised.

All this while the siege went on with vigour: the besieged made several sallies with good success, and, in general, defended themselves much better than 'Turks had ever before done. They even repulsed the Imperialists in a general storm: which misfortune, and a mortal dysentery that reign'd in the army, obliged the Duke of Lorrain to raise the siege, after he had lost 30,000 men to no purpose. But before he led his army towards the neighbourhood of Gran, he reduced Pest to ashes, and blew up its fortifications. His troops were much harass'd in their march, by large bodies of 'Tartars and Spahis, which the Seraskier continually detached against them. These detachments, according to their custom, wheeled round upon the skirts of the army, and cut in pieces all that came in their way, before  
the

the troops could have time to form themselves.

The Turks were now revenged for their late The disgrace before Vienna, which was indeed a Turks re- much stronger place than Buda. They retake Weitzen. Weitzen, and might have extended their conquests much farther, if the severe cold had not drove them into winter quarters, to which the Imperialists were also obliged to retire. Whether it was want of good provisions, that caused a contagion ; or whether the Duke of Lorrain was thwarted in his councils by the other generals ; or, lastly, whether the Imperial ministers, jealous of the Duke's great credit, with-held the necessary supplies ; whatever was the cause, this was certainly a very unfortunate campaign, after such a long series of success.

Nor did the Emperor's army in Upper Hun- Campaign gary, where general Schultz commanded against in Upper Count Tekeli, obtain advantages to compensate Hungary. the disgraces in the Lower. Tekeli, ever active and vigilant, tho' always weaker than the Imperial general, kept him in continual alarms. If Schultz had now and then the better in a slight skirmish, it was of no consequence : yet was sufficiently magnified at the court of Vienna, in order to quiet the people upon the ill success of their grand army.

The winter was spent in planing of new ope- 1685. rations, which might be subject to fewer incon- Plans of veniences than the preceding. Leopold insisted opera- upon taking from the malcontents all they pos- tion. sessed in the Upper Hungary ; which the Duke represented as an impossible thing, without a more numerous army than had been employed before Buda. His reasons were thought so good, that the utmost efforts were resolved on, in order to levy a greater body of troops. The

Imperial ministers represented this to the diet of the Empire, and pathetically set forth the want of both men and money, in order to push the war with success against the common enemy. Most of the Imperial cities sent in large subsidies, as did several of the Electors, and many other Princes: but the Elector of Brandenburg excused himself, under the feign'd pretence of apprehensions from the French, who were then in motion about Juliers and Bergues. His deficiency was made up by the Pope, who allow'd his Imperial Majesty a third penny upon the goods of all ecclesiastics in the Austrian dominions. In the Duke of Lorrain's commission, he was order'd to open the campaign with the siege of Neuhausel, which the Imperial council thought safer than to begin with Buda, where the Turks had made new fortifications.

The siege  
of Neu-  
hausel.

His highness took the field with 60,000 men, having the French Princes, and other illustrious volunteers, again in his army. By the way he thought to surprise Novigrad, in order to cut off the communication between Neuhausel and Buda: but going himself to reconnoitre the place, before his army came up; when he approached the walls, suddenly there issued out a body of horse, intermix'd with janissaries, who endeavour'd to bring his retinue to an engagement. The French volunteers, advancing too rashly, had like to have been cut in pieces. As to the place, the Duke perceiv'd its castle was like to make a long defence, and therefore quited the design of attacking it, and proceeded to Neuhausel, which he invested the 19th of July. The garison acquitted themselves so well, that after a month's siege the Imperialists had little hopes of success, and it was almost in despair they were going to storm a covert-way, when



when advice came that the Seraskier, with an army of 60,000 men, was advancing on the other side of the Danube, to besiege Vicegrad.

In a few days more came the news that he Duke had taken it, put all the garison to the sword, Charles and already opened trenches before Gran, which advances at that time was but ill provided. As the Duke to meet knew this, and apprehended he might soon be- the ene- come master of that also, and then fall upon his army with victorious troops, he resolved, if possible, to disconcert the measures of the Seraskier. He left Count Caprara before Neuhausel, with troops sufficient to continue the siege, and marched himself to the relief of Gran. The Turks raised the siege upon his approach, and prepared to give battle, in hopes that a victory might save Neuhausel. He chose a post that was very advantageous, between a thick wood, a mountain, and a marsh. The Duke advanced by forc'd marches, to the opposite shore of the Danube ; which having passed on two bridges, he encamped in sight of the Turkish army, and went to reconnoitre their situation, when he saw they could not safely be attacked.

Stratagem, his highness now perceived, was The Im- necessary to be employ'd. He got it rumour'd, perialists that his army, consisting of 40,000 men, a- gain a vic- mounted to only half that number ; and imme- tory. diately began to retreat, as if in the utmost consternation. The Seraskier quited his post, to attack a place where the Danube on one side, and on the other side mountains, form'd a theatre equally proper for action, and advantageous to those who possess'd it. Here he drew up his army in order of battle, the right wing to the hills, and the left to the river, covering the center with his artillery. While the disposition was making, there arose one of those

thick fogs that are frequent in Hungary, on the sides of the Danube, and which now opportunely prevented the Seraskier from seeing the number of the Imperialists. That general attack'd first, at the head of his left wing, and begun a battle which lasted seven hours and a half with great fury. I shall not enter into the particulars of it; only to mention, that the Princes Lewis of Baden and Eugene of Savoy did wonders. The Turkish and Tartar cavalry escaped by plunging into a bog, where the heavy German horse durst not follow them. It was a cheap victory to the Imperialists, who had only 300 men kill'd, and 600 wounded: whereas the Turks left 7000 dead on the place, besides what were wounded or taken. They lost 37 pieces of cannon, 1500 bombs, 16 mortars, 40 colours or standards, and all their baggage. The Seraskier himself was wounded, and tore his beard for rage.

Neuhausel taken by storm.

The bashaw of Neuhausel, tho' inform'd of what was done, still haughtily refused to surrender upon honourable conditions; which drew on him all the fury of the Imperial artillery. At last, a breach being made, on the 19th of August the place was storm'd, and carried sword in hand. Then followed a general slaughter, in which the bashaw himself fell, and none escaped but about 200, who hid themselves, and appear'd after the carnage was over. There was found a very considerable booty in Neuhausel, especially of ammunition and provisions. Colonel Rockham was left there, to repair the fortifications.

Remainder of the campaign.

Little more happen'd this campaign: for tho' the Duke weaken'd his army, by sending ten regiments into Upper Hungary, and the Seraskier, after being reinforced, was order'd to hazard

zard another battle, the Turk thought proper to decline it, on what pretence was not known, and contented himself with setting fire to Novi-grad, Vicegrad, and Weitzen, having first stript them of all provisions, and blown up their fortifications. On the other side, an Imperial detachment, under general Haussler, took Zolnock, St Nicholas, and Savorbaz, and then marched with the main army towards Gran; while the Seraskier, diffident of his own capacity and strength, retired between the Drave and the Save, after having in vain attempted to amuse his highness with insincere proposals for an accommodation.

The Emperor was no less successful in Upper Hungary, where the Turks having arrested Count Tekeli, his army, under certain conditions, revolted to his Imperial majesty. As there were in it several Hungarian lords of prime quality, who took the benefit of the amnesty, this event much weakened the malcontents party, and gave a prosperous end to the campaign of 1685. The Imperialists wintered partly in Upper Hungary, and partly in Croatia. As for Tekeli, after having been declared King of Hungary, and presented with the scymeter and turban, at the head of the Turkish and Hungarian armies, he was now so much a victim to the artifices of his enemies, that, being fetter'd like a common malefactor, he was carried in that manner to Constantinople, and obliged there to answer to all that had been laid to his charge. He may therefore truly be called the sport of fortune, an instance of the vanity of ambition and human grandure, and of the little confidence that weak princes ought to repose in the more powerful.

It was agreed in the Aulic council of war, that a fresh attempt should be made the next summer 1686.  
Buda again be-  
sieged.



mer on Buda ; and the supplies sent in by the several Princes, promised an happy issue to the undertaking. The Duke of Lorrain, with other generals, came early to Gran, the place of rendezvous, and found there an army of 95,000 men. His highness divided it into two bodies, with one of which he crossed the river, and left the other to the Elector of Bavaria. They advanced to Buda without molestation, on the opposite sides of the Danube, and then the Elector crossed, and the siege was begun in different quarters of the town, which was still defended by the brave Bashaw we before-mentioned. Soon after arrived the troops of Brandenburg, and on the 24th of June the attack was begun in three different places, when the Imperial artillery made a most terrible fire. But the besiegers being much annoy'd from a certain tower, their first care was to storm that, which they carried after a most obstinate resistance. It was a dear purchase however to the Imperialists, who lost 1500 men, besides a great number wounded.

Taken by  
storm.

The Duke then sent to summon the Bashaw, offering him honourable conditions, which the other boldly rejected ; and, upon intelligence that the Grand Vizir, with his army, was within half a day's march, gave a general discharge of his artillery in token of joy. The Vizir indeed was at hand, and would gladly have risked a battle to relieve the place, had not the dread of ill success, which, according to the rigorous policy of the Turks, might have cost him his life, made him act with more caution. All he attempted, was to draw the Imperialists out of their lines ; who, as they had no occasion to run that hazard in order to carry the town, and were already much weaken'd in the siege, would not stir from their quarters. On the 27th of July, a  
breach

breach that had been made in the castle was attacked by the besiegers. They enter'd it twice sword in hand, but were as often repulsed, with the loss of 400 men ; among whom were the counts Staremburg, Heberstein, and Caunitz. At last the besiegers had pushed their attack so far, that every thing was ready for a general assault ; which, after all means to make the Bashaw surrender had been found ineffectual, was given with great fury. The city was taken and sack'd, and the brave Bashaw was found dead upon the breach ; happy in not being a witness of the bloodshed his resolution had occasioned ! The German soldiers, enraged against the Turks for their obstinate resistance, had no respect to age or sex, but vented their fury on every Mahometan they met, till the Duke of Lorrain and the Elector put an end to the execution.

When the carnage of the Turks was over, which the Grand Vizir had, with grief, beheld from an eminence, the Imperial general, leaving 4000 foot and 1000 horse in Buda, set forward with his army in pursuit of that minister, who retired with great precipitation, burning and destroying whatever his haste would permit, till he came under the cannon of Belgrade. The Duke, perceiving he could not bring the Vizir to action, sent a detachment under the Princes Lewis and Eugene, to besiege Five-Churches (a town so called) while general Caprara reduc'd the rest of the fortifications in Upper Hungary, that were held by the malcontents. The expedition of the Princes won them great reputation. Colkez, which had been ruined by the Vizir, fell easily into their hands : Simontorna surrender'd at discretion : but when they came to Caposswar, and heard the commandant of the castle was resolv'd to dispute it with them, they contented themselves with

An expedition by the Princes of Baden and Savoy.

with pillaging and burning the towns without staying to besiege the fortrefs. At last they came before Five-Churches, where they were re-inforc'd by a flying camp. As the city had no fortifications, the Turkish garison set fire to the houses, and retired to the castle. Prince Eugene, at the head of his dragoons, with much difficulty, put a stop to the flames. Then they filled up the castle-ditch, and inform'd the governor; that if he held out till a breach was made, they would give no quarter. But all the answer that officer gave, was, to hang out seven colours, six red, and the other black : which so irritated the Princes, that they instantly order'd the cannon to play, and the mines to be carried on, till a bomb having ruin'd the castle-wall, the besieged beat a parley. They were admitted prisoners of war, to the number of 3000. The Imperialists found here 18 pieces of cannon, much ammunition, and a great many horses ; and having left a garison both in the city and the fortrefs, their highnesses marched to Siclos, which surrender'd at discretion.

The  
bridge of  
Esseck  
burn'd.

Tho' the season was now far advanced, Prince Lewis form'd another project, which did great damage to the Turks. It was to burn the famous bridge of Esseck, which was 9000 paces long by 24 wide, and kept in repair at a prodigious annual expence, as a passage for the Infidels into Lower Hungary. The Imperialists got possession of it with little difficulty, and the wind seconding the flames, 200 paces of it were destroy'd.

Other  
places  
taken.

Several other places were then attacked and taken, in particular Segedin, which had served the rebels in Upper Hungary for a place of arms, and against which general la Vergne had before miscarried, with the loss of his life. The victorious

troops



troops would have proceeded farther, had not cold driven them into winter quarters, which were assigned them partly in Lower Hungary, and partly in the Austrian provinces.

I must not forget the Princess Ragotzi, Count Princess Tekeli's lady, who perform'd wonders this campaign in her own defence. She, with her children by Ragotzi, was shut up in Mongatz, a strong place upon a sharp rock, whither Count Caprara was sent to summon her to surrender at the beginning of the season. But the Emperor was mistaken, when he thought the disgrace of Tekeli by the Turks would dishearten his wife, who held out gallantly to the end of the campaign. In the mean time her husband was set at liberty, and again publicly declared Prince of Hungary and Transilvania by the Porte : which however did him little service, as he was not able, with all his manifesto's, to draw together above 7 or 8000 men ; a body too inconsiderable to attempt any thing great, and which therefore lay inactive till the end of the summer, under the cannon of Great Waradin.

After several councils held before the Emperor, upon the operations of the ensuing campaign, the Duke of Lorrain's opinion was at last agreed to ; “ That the army ought not to be “ wasted in sieges, but led immediately in quest “ of the enemy, to give them battle ; for that it “ the Imperialists won the day, the Turkish “ army would be entirely ruined ; but if the “ Turks, the Imperialists were secure in their “ fortifications.” In consequence of this resolution, orders were immediately issued for the troops in Lower Hungary to assemble about Barkan, under the Duke of Lorrain ; and those in Upper Hungary about Zolnock, where the Elector of Bavaria would come to head them. They

Princess Ragotzi's bravery.

Her husband set at liberty.

1687. Preparations for the campaign.

They assembled accordingly, and Prince Eugene, who from this time will begin to appear more and more illustrious, was in the latter corps.

The  
Turks re-  
treat.

Mean time the Grand Vizir, who had taken up his quarters between Esseck and Belgrade, (not daring to go to Constantinople, for fear of the resentment of the populace) began to make all possible efforts to repair the faults of the last campaign. He new fortified Belgrade and Esseck, and sent 10,000 men to support Count Tekeli, who drew together his men in the bannat of Temeswar. The Sultan, at home, tried his utmost to raise men and money. To make his people easy, he gave out, that the Imperial army was never so weak as now. The expedient succeeded, and new troops were sent into Slavonia, while the rest of the army passed over into Hungary. But when the Imperial generals had united their forces, and were marching towards them with 60,000 men, the infidels retired with such precipitation cross a morass, and the river Drave, that many of them were lost.

When the Imperialists had ruined more of the bridge, and demolished a causeway that supplied the chasm made by Prince Lewis the year before, they laid over a bridge for themselves below Esseck: which having passed, they advanced within sight of the Grand Vizir's post. They found it so well entrench'd and guarded, contrary to the Turkish custom, that there was no attacking it without running into the mouths of 80 pieces of cannon, charged with cartridge shot, 18 mortars, a great number of grenades, and other dreadful engines of destruction. Sensible of the false step he had taken, in advancing so far without knowing the enemy's situation, the Duke of Lorrain could only entrench

The Ger-  
mans in  
danger.

entrench himself as advantageously as possible, and wait the motions of the Grand Vizir : but this minister kept his ground, and only plaid his artillery ; which, being much better placed, did infinitely more execution than that of the Imperialists, till, in fine, the Duke saw his army ready to perish with famine, or be almost destroyed by the Turkish artillery, unless he would risk an engagement against prodigious odds. In this dilemma, like a prudent commander, he repass'd the Drave ; Prince Eugene covering the infantry in their retreat, which was the most delicate post in the whole army. The bridge of boats, on which they pass'd, was immediately broke, and Prince Eugene so well perform'd his part, that the German infantry suffer'd but little.

It was the Duke of Lorrain's intention to demolish Siclos and Five-Churches, that the enemy might not repossess them, and then to march on and besiege Stol-Weissenburg : but the Turks, who had also pass'd the Drave, followed so close at his heels, that before he reach'd the first place, their van-guard appear'd. The Elector of Bavaria, who now commanded the rear of the Imperialists, had directions to avoid a battle : which was, however, impossible ; for the Turk, having got possession of a wood, was ready to attack him in flank. When the Duke of Lorrain saw this, he drew up in order of battle, and pass'd the night under arms. Next morning, the Grand Vizir having placed his new rais'd troops against the German's right wing, commanded by the Duke ; his best soldiers against their left, headed by the Elector, and the rest in the center ; he propos'd to amuse the Duke, while, with all his strength, he pushed the left wing ; which having forced, he should  
beat

Battle of  
Herlan.



beat the remainder of the army in order. But the Duke penetrating through part of his design, sent some regiments to reinforce the Elector, who was already hardly press'd, and had himself received a wound in his hand. Piccolomini, who brought this reinforcement, charged the enemy with such bravery, that he made them give way. But they returning to the charge, the whole wing was soon engaged; and the Turks fought so well, that at the first onset they repulsed all that opposed them. The Elector then put himself at the head of his horse, and fell on that of the enemy; which, after some time, he broke, and with a few field-pieces, charged with small shot, put entirely into disorder.

The  
Turks  
routed.

Prince Eugene, at the head of his dragoons, was the first who charged the spahis, and made them give way. He pursued them into their intrenched camp, where the janissaries made a noble stand, till the Duke of Lorraine, having routed his wing, attacked them on that side, and compleated the victory. The Grand Vizir fled one of the first, and never staid till he had passed the Drave, abandoning his camp, his artillery, and all his baggage. The booty, both in ready money and jewels, was immense; sixteen hundred elephants and camels, with a prodigious number of other beasts of burden, were taken at their stands. The tent of the Grand Vizir, and all his rich moveables, became the victor's prey. Eugene's dragoons, who first enter'd the camp, had the flower of the pillage; which in general was so great, that, though wine was then a crown a bottle, many common soldiers were every day drunk with it for some time after. The loss of the Turks, according to ~~an~~ which the Grand Vizir himself published at ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~week~~ <sup>week</sup>, was no less than 30,000 kill'd and wounded. The Christians

Christians had but 300 kill'd, and about 300 wounded. This battle was fought at Herfan, where Soliman II, in 1626, routed the Christians, and slew Lewis the Younger, the last native King of Hungary.

Much of this victory, as well as of the previous safety of the army, having been owing to Prince Eugene of Savoy; the Duke of Lorraine chose him for the messenger, to carry the joyful news to the Emperor, with high commendations of his great merit. He was not only caress'd by the Emperor, but made the next year a lieutenant general, tho' then but twenty-five years of age. He had been a major general ever since he was twenty-one, the year in which he receiv'd his regiment. Few commanders have been known, who rose, by merit, so rapidly in military dignities. The Prince of Commerci, who enter'd the Emperor's service at the same time as Eugene, had also his share of glory in this action.

Duke Charles, to take advantage of the Turks' consternation, made a feint as if he would besiege Temeswar; and the Vizir, deceiv'd by this stratagem, sent a large detachment to reinforce the garison of that place. When the Duke saw his feint succeeded, he detach'd count Dunewald cross the Danube, with 4000 horse and 6000 foot, and order'd him to wait for the ban of Croatia, who was advancing to join him. But Dunewald, learning that the garison of Esseck had caught the general panic, advanced towards that town without waiting for the ban. The Turks abandon'd it upon sight of his van-guard, not even staying to set fire to the mines which they had made to blow up the fortifications. The Grand Vizir, who lay in the neighbourhood of Esseck, fled with the garison, and the remains

mains of his army, towards Peter-Waradin. He had by the way a quarrel with the Aga of the janissaries, and the janissaries had every day skirmishes with the spahis. In a word, the Turks were not so much as in a condition to help Abassi, Prince of Transilvania, upon whose territories the Duke put his army into winter quarters, to mortify him for his correspondence with the Porte. Mean while Dunewald advanced into Sclavonia, took all the towns that fell in his way, and among them Possiega the capital. The Imperialists did but appear, and the Turks fled, abandoning all the country between the Save and the Drave, till they came to Gardiska, a place too strong for Dunewald's little army to besiege.

Other advantages.

These were not all the advantages of this glorious campaign: for the city of Erlau, which the Imperialists had block'd up six months, surrender'd upon capitulation; and Princess Ragotzi, after having four years defended her fortress of Mongatz, was obliged to submit to the condition of being carried to Vienna. Nor could she prevail to have her husband, count Tekeli, who had just been defeated by general Hauller in Transilvania, included in the articles of agreement.

Dissensions in the Imperial court, and revolutions at the Porte.

The arrival of the generals at Vienna, at the end of the campaign of 1687, occasion'd some alterations in the Imperial court. The Duke of Lorrain, chagrin'd that the Elector of Bavaria had been join'd with him in the command, accused Prince Herman of Baden, the brother of Lewis, and president of the Aulic council of war, with being the cause of it; pretended to quit the Imperial court, and, at last, thro' his high credit with the Emperor, got his revenge in Prince Herman's disgrace. But these mini-  
steria



sterial quarrels were soon drown'd, or, at least hush'd, in rejoicings. The coronation of the Archduke Joseph King of Hungary, of which kingdom the Emperor was now almost entirely master, occasion'd this scene of pleasure. A far different scene, in the mean time, was exhibited at Constantinople, whither Cara Ibrahim, who had been Vizir ever since 1683, unfortunately went at the end of the campaign. The aga of the janissaries, who, since their quarrel, had conceived an implacable hatred towards that minister, found means to exasperate the soldiers, to whose fury he fell a sacrifice : and as the Sultan really lov'd, and would have protected his minister, they proceeded next to depose him, and to place in the throne his brother Soliman, who had been forty years in prison.

Soliman order'd great preparations for the Great next campaign, and at the same time made <sup>prepara-</sup> some overtures of peace to the Emperor ; but <sup>tions.</sup> on conditions so very unreasonable, that they were not thought worthy an answer. His Imperial majesty was not behind-hand in preparations, tho' part of his attention was drawn to another quarter, upon the conduct of Lewis XIV. But as this was a new scene of action, and is one of the most remarkable periods of Leopold's reign, before we enter on it, let us take a retrospect of several past years, to see what has been omitted, in order to pursue the series of campaigns in Hungary.

The league formed with the Poles, in 1683, Other for carrying on the war against the Turks, was particu- strengthen'd the next year by the accession of <sup>lars.</sup> the Venetians. The same year the Emperor was alarm'd on the side of France ; which fears, however, soon ended in a twenty years truce with Lewis XIV, that was kept four years only.

By this truce the Emperor and Empire yielded up to France the possession of Strasburg, Fort Keil, and all places, fiefs, and lordships, of which they were seized by virtue of the decrees of the royal chambers of Metz, Brisac, and Brisac, with the condition never to reclaim them. But the death of Charles Elector Palatine, the last male of the branch of Simmeren, the accession of the Duke of Neuburg to that electorate, and the claim of Elizabeth-Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, only surviving sister of the deceased Elector, furnish'd fuel for a new war, which broke out with great fury three years after. Mean while a treaty was made with the Transilvanians, by which the Emperor got possession of all the fortresses in that principality, which enabled him the better to secure the sovereignty of it on the death of Prince Abassi. And the Elector Palatine, fearing that the allodial estates of his predecessor would be forcibly demanded by the Duchess of Orleans, with the arms of the French King, form'd a league at Augsbourg, between the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of Sweden, and several Princes and Circles of the Empire, under pretence of the war against the Turk, but in reality to oppose France if any such demand should be made. The Dutch, soon after, acceded to this alliance.

Hungary  
made he-  
reditary.

We must observe, that the great successes of the Emperor's arms, in the year 1687, gave him the opportunity of making the crown of Hungary hereditary in his family. I have before mention'd the coronation of the Archduke Joseph; but it was his election, at the diet of Presburg, and that afterwards at Oldemburg, that deprived the Hungarian nobility of any future right of the same kind, or any possibility of themselves

themselves ever succeeding to the crown, as some of them had formerly done. It is imagined that Count Palfi, and some others of the heads of them, were largely bribed from Vienna : but so it was, that tho' the deputies at first seem'd resolutely to assert their rights, and insisted on preserving the liberty of chusing their future kings, they found themselves obliged to submit, and to declare their kingdom hereditary in the Imperial branch of the house of Austria ; “ that in default of male heirs, it should “ pass to females, and that if both fail'd, it “ should belong to the Princes, and after them “ to the Princesses of the Spanish branch.” The expence he had been at, in defending the nation, and rescuing it out of the hands of the Turks, was what Leopold made his pretence for this encroachment : and it was in vain that most of the nobility, after the election was over, protested against it, when the sovereign had got possession of all the fortresses, and garison'd them with Germans. But to proceed.

When Leopold made the truce with France, 1688. and admitted some claims of Lewis XIV, it was Views of Leopold and Lewis XIV. only to gain time, that, when he had nothing more to fear from the Turks, he might fall with his whole force, and that of the Empire, upon the French King, who had ungenerously, and contrary to engagement, taken advantage of this Hungarian war. But Lewis, when he promised to continue neuter, had a mental reservation, and meant only on condition that the Emperor should be always beaten. The reverse now appearing, that King thought himself absolved from his engagement, and resolved either to have an absolute cession of his new acquisitions by a treaty of peace, or to secure them by farther conquests. The former being demanded



and refused, his most Christian majesty rightly judged the Emperor's design, and therefore resolv'd to give the first blow, while Leopold was yet engaged in the East. He fill'd Alfatia with troops and magazines, and waited only for a plausible pretext to begin hostilities. It was happy for the Emperor, that the league of Augsburg, already made by the Elector Palatine, was some security on that side, where he expected every day to be attack'd.

March of  
the Impe-  
rialists.

This did not hinder, however, his sending into Hungary 60,000 men, under the Duke of Lorrain and the Elector of Bavaria, who were to have separate commands, and not, as the year before, to act conjointly. They were detain'd some time near Esseck, where the army suffer'd much for want of provisions; the Danube being so overflow'd, that it was impossible for general Caraffa to bring over the convoy from Transilvania. When the waters sunk, and the troops were refresh'd, they march'd along towards Belgrade, with the Danube on their left, to within a league of the river Save. As the Duke of Lorrain fell sick by the way, the Elector had now the whole command, and led on the army to Semlin, whence he detach'd Prince Eugene, with 4000 horse and foot, to reinforce Prince Lewis of Baden, who had suffer'd pretty much in Slavonia. Jeghen Bashaw, the new Seraskier, and Count Tekeli, lay ready to dispute the passage of the Save. They were intrench'd in an island, over which they judg'd the Imperialists must pass: but the Elector, having found a more favourable place somewhat higher, made so good a use of the discovery, that part of his army was over before the enemy perceiv'd it. The Count and the Seraskier advanced too late to prevent the rest, and were immedi-

immediately driven back under the cannon of Belgrade, where they entrench'd themselves with all expedition. But no sooner did the Imperialists appear, than they fled precipitately to Semendria, after firing the suburbs of Belgrade.

When the lines of circumvallation were raised, Siege of Belgrade. general Serini was appointed to direct in the attack; and in 25 days, notwithstanding the bravery of the garison, the besiegers were in a condition to storm. The governor refusing to surrender to their summons, on the 6th of September, in the morning, the assault was begun at five different places. At half an hour after ten, the battle grew warm on every side, and the word of the Imperialists was Emanuel. Eugene would gladly have had a share in the action, and, tho' hinder'd from engaging at first, flew to support his companions, when repulsed by the Turks. He was the first who mounted the breach, and narrowly escaped with his life. At last, after extraordinary efforts, the city was taken. The Imperialists spread destruction wherever they came, without even sparing the little children. Some officers, who escaped the carnage, fled to a part of the castle, where the Christians slaves were confin'd. They released them, asked pardon for the ill treatment they had given them, and beg'd them to intercede with the victors. The Christians did so, and saved the lives of all these wretches, among whom was the Bashaw-governor. Upon enumerating the dead, no less than 5000 janissaries were found, besides many other soldiers: nor had the Imperialists less than 4000 killed in the siege and storm, and 2000 wounded. Besides abundance of provisions, there were found 80 pieces of large artillery, six mortars, and a prodigious quantity of bullets and grenades.

A victory  
in Bosnia.

In fine, the Elector having refreshed his troops, and repaired the breaches, left Count Starenberg governor, with 15 companies of foot, and two regiments of horse. At the same time came the joyful news, that Prince Lewis of Baden had defeated the Turkish seraskier in Bosnia. The Emperor had enough to satisfy him in this campaign, which was so many victories as battles, so many acquisitions as sieges. He was almost master of Hungary, Sclavonia, Bosnia, and Croatia; and might have hoped, in two more summers, to penetrate even to Constantinople itself, if Lewis XIV had not diverted his arms.

Lewis  
XIV  
breaks  
with the  
Emperor.

The Elector of Cologne dying this summer, France did all in its power to get the cardinal de Furstemberg, canon and coadjutor of Cologne, elected in his room. The Emperor and the States-general, who knew the cardinal was wholly in the interest of France, took equal pains for Prince Joseph of Bavaria; and a sufficient quantity of Dutch ducats procured him the same number of votes as the cardinal. According to the statutes of the chapter, the Pope was called in, who, enraged at the King of France for interrupting the progress of the Imperial army, decided in favour of Prince Joseph. As the Prince was not at the age prescribed by the canons, and wanted other qualifications, France pretended to prove, as clear as the sun, that his election was void. It took place, however, in spite of this outcry: and Lewis, as he was not of a temper to receive laws from others, sent the Dauphin to the Rhine, at the head of 50,000 men, to besiege Philipsburg, which he took in nineteen days. This was called the Dauphin's campaign, who obtain'd from it the name of Hero in the French panegyrist's.

All



All Europe seem'd to be scandalized at this Which facilitates the revolution in England.  
irruption, at a time when the Emperor was just  
ready to humble the enemies of the Christian  
Princes. But, whatever they might pretend, the  
Dutch were far from being uneasy at this step of  
his most Christian Majesty, which left them to  
carry on their preparations against England with-  
out interruption : whereas the French embassador  
had before presented a memorial on that head,  
signifying that his master would take the part of  
King James II, in case any thing was attempted  
against him. Every one knows what follow'd.  
The Prince of Orange landed in England, and  
got the crown of his father-in-law, who meanly  
abdicated his kingdoms to implore succour at Ver-  
sailles. Instead of becoming an absolute monarch,  
as he had once dreamed, it was the fate of this  
unhappy King to live and die a Knight errant,  
and to leave an instructive lesson to all sovereigns.

The Imperial army, divided into several bo- Tekeli  
dies, was got into winter quarters, and most of defeats  
the generals were arrived at Vienna. Mean while the nego-  
an embassy from the Turks, which had received tiations at  
passports of the Elector of Bavaria at Belgrade, Vienna.  
was render'd ineffectual by a letter of Count  
Tekeli to the Sultan, informing him, “ that the  
“ King of France, the most powerful of all the  
“ Christian monarchs, had declared war against  
“ the Emperor ;” and magnifying the great  
strength of his Gallic majesty, in ships, money,  
men, and provisions, beyond indeed what was  
really true. The French embassador at the Porte  
seconded the representations of Tekeli, who, for  
his part, received such considerable supplies from  
France, as enabled him to raise near 12,000 new  
recruits. The malcontents resumed their cou-  
rage, and some, who had hitherto conceal'd their  
sentiments, now threw off the mask. It was im-  
possible

possible for the Emperor, in this situation, to take more prudent measures than he did. As the conquest of Hungary was confirmed by the possession of Belgrade, the only way by which the Turks could re-enter that kingdom, it was sufficient on this side to act on the defensive only, and to send most of his troops to the Rhine, in order to stop the progress of the French.

Prepara-  
tions for  
war.

The duke of Lorrain, who was now recover'd, and the Elector of Bavaria, had the command of this main army; and Prince Lewis of Baden was sent into Hungary, at the head of about 18,000 men. Mean while Prince Eugene, who had discover'd a genius for negotiation as well as war, was sent into Piedmont, to raise a new enemy to Lewis XIV, in his relation duke Victor-Amadeus of Savoy. As that Prince was vain, ambitious, and avaricious; implacable in his hatred, and obstinate in his resolutions; Eugene, by flattering alternately all his passions, brought him at last into the alliance.

1689.  
Campaign  
on the  
Rhine.

All the strong places on the Rhine, from Mannheim to Cologne, were already taken by the French, who committed the most horrid ravages throughout the Palatinate. The Imperial generals, with a fine army, attempted to recover Mentz; but lost before it 10,000 men, and had not at last succeeded, if the marquis d'Uxelles, who understood the defence of a place better than any other French officer, had not wanted ammunition. In the mean time, the Elector of Brandenburg retook Keyserfwaert and Bonn.

In Hun-  
gary.

Prince Lewis had more success in Hungary. Tho' his orders were to act only defensively, yet he was soon obliged to take other measures. Hearing that the Sultan was advancing in person, at the head of his grand army, in order to pass the Moraw, a river that crosses Servia from South to

to North, his highness marched to the opposite banks, to dispute the passage with the Ottoman monarch. But so terrified were the Turks at his approach, that they instantly fell to entrenching themselves against this little army, which, with the reinforcements it had received, scarcely amounted to 24,000 men. With these the Prince advanced to attack them in their entrenchments, which they also abandon'd at his approach, and lost many of their rear-guard in a precipitate retreat. They next encamp'd in the neighbourhood of Nissa, whither the Prince pursued them after some days, and defeated them in the field, tho' the janissaries made a brave resistance. As Nissa was but poorly fortified, it instantly surrendered to the Imperialists.

The duke of Savoy dreading the spies of Treaty France, it was not thought convenient to sign with Sa. the treaty at Turin. He took the advantage <sup>voy.</sup> therefore of the carnival at Venice, met Eugene and the Elector of Brandenburg in that city, and engaged, on condition of being assisted by 9000 Imperialists, and put in possession of Pignerol, to make war upon France. It was not long before Lewis XIV, having certain intelligence of this measure, sent to demand of the duke two regiments of horse, and the liberty to raise 6000 foot in his dominions. Victor, to ward off the King's resentment, had recourse to every stragem, while Catinat advanced into Piedmont with 12,000 men.

But when the mask was no longer useful, his highness declared war against France, and set forth Victor de. his reasons in a manifesto, which the French court clares answer'd. He also wrote a letter to King William, <sup>against</sup> France. to congratulate him on his accession to the British throne, and excuse himself for not doing it sooner. This letter procured him a subsidy of 20,000



20,000 crowns per month from England, and the promise of as much more from the States-general, besides considerable sums from other Princes. Being thus in a condition to make numerous levies, he lay entrench'd, with a considerable army, near Villa Franca, where Prince Eugene join'd him by the post, and brought advice of the approach of 7000 Imperialists.

Battle of  
Stafarda.

Victor, at Eugene's arrival, was preparing to give the enemy battle; which Catinat had orders to take the first opportunity to accept. In vain would the Imperial general have dissuaded his highness from this design, till the arrival of the 7000 men. The armies met near the abbey of Stafarda, where, in the space of two hours, the duke of Savoy was entirely defeated. He had 3400 men kill'd, 1500 wounded, and 2000 made prisoners. His artillery also was taken, and his equipage rifled. Prince Eugene, having done wonders to preserve the field, gained immortal honour in the retreat. At Carignan the Duke assembled the shatter'd remains of his army; when retiring to Montcallier, he encamp'd in an inaccessible post. Catinat, seeing this, went and took Moret, and reduced to ashes several little towns, that refused him contributions. At the same time Savoy was invaded by the marquis de St Ruth, and entirely reduced, except Montmellian, which the marquis blockaded.

Battle of  
Fleurus.

Nor did the affairs of the allies take a better turn in Flanders. The Dutch, under the Prince of Waldeck, who had gain'd some advantage the year before at Walcourt, over the marshal d'Humieres, were this summer totally defeated at Fleurus, by the Duke of Luxembourg.

End of the  
campaign  
in Italy.

When the succours arrived in the Piedmontese army, and encreased to 22,000 men, the Duke marched towards Turin, to cover that ca-

pitul

pital. A party of French having been detach'd from Pignerol, to burn Rivoli, they were intercepted in their return by the German horse, and some Piedmontese foot. The French were surrounded, and most of them cruelly cut in pieces by the Germans, tho' they beg'd for mercy: for those Curiaffiers, accusom'd to fight only against the Turks, knew not what it was either to give or receive quarter. Catinat complain'd loudly of this barbarity, and was forced to be satisfied with an excuse: but nothing could efface the horrid idea, which the French soldiers, from this time, entertain'd of the Germans, and which prompted them soon after to return the injustice. This was the only advantage that the allies gain'd in the whole summer against the French; except that the Vaudois, in their vallies, beat a few parties of that nation. As the season was already far advanced, the troops on both sides were retiring into winter quarters, when marshal Catinat put an end to the campaign by taking Suza. The Germans took up their quarters in the duchy of Mantua, to punish the Duke, who treacherously favour'd the French against the confederates.

Prince Léwis of Baden, who commanded in War in Hungary, had this year various success. He lost Hungary. Nissa, Widdin, and afterwards Belgrade itself, to the Turks, and general Fleusser abandoned the whole province of Transilvania to Count Tekeli. That Hungarian, however, did not keep it the whole year: for Prince Lewis surrounded him with that celerity and secrecy, that he had no way to escape, but by retreating into Moldavia. Esseck, after it had been besieg'd some time by the Turks, was saved by a stratagem of the Duke of Croy the governor.

I must not forget that on the 11th of April, On the this year, died Charles V, Duke of Lorrain, of a Rhine.  
quinzy

quinzy in his throat. Upon his death, the command on the Rhine was given solely to the Elector of Bavaria. That Prince, tho' he tried every means to effect it, could not bring the Dauphin to a battle, who this year had the command of 40,000 men.

Joseph  
chosen  
King of  
the Ro-  
mans.

But what gave his Imperial majesty the greatest pleasure, was the election of his son Joseph, already King of Hungary, to be King of the Romans. The choice was made on the 24th of January, and the coronation was celebrated the day following. This was the greater triumph for Leopold, as Lewis XIV had spared no pains to traverse his designs, and had so far prevail'd, that some princes declared such election quite unnecessary.

1691.  
The cam-  
paign in  
Italy.

Early the next spring, the marquis de Feuquieres, who commanded at Pignerol, raised contributions up to the very gates of Turin. In the mean while, Catinat passed the Var, took Nizza, Avigliano, and Carmagnola ; and being now master of all the East-country, beyond the Po, had it in his power, whenever he pleased, to besiege the capital. The Duke of Savoy, upon this, entered into treaty with the marshal ; resolving to accept the offers of France, if he found them more advantageous than those of the allies ; or if on the contrary, to reject them, as he had done before. He was detected in this negotiation by Prince Eugene, who prevailed on him to discontinue it. That Prince afterwards raised the siege of Coni, by deceiving the marquis de Bulonde, who commanded it in the absence of M de Feuquieres, attacked the rear-guard of M de Catinat, in his passage of the Po, and narrowly escaped with his own life. Towards the end of the campaign, the allies made a vigorous push on this side ; the Imperial



rial and Spanish troops, with those in the pay of England and Holland, under their respective generals, and the Bavarians, led by their Elector, making, in conjunction with the Piedmontese, an army of 50,000 men. These besieged and took Carmagnola, which was the last remarkable action in Italy this year: but in the following, before the opening of Campagna, Catinat took Montmellian.

It was late in the summer of 1691, that the In Hun-  
Emperor sent Prince Lewis into Hungary. He gary.  
was scarce arrived but he decamped, and went in quest of the enemy, who, after some marches and counter-marches, entrenched themselves strongly on a rising ground upon the banks of the Danube, near Salankemen. Lewis, observing that he had a desperate game to play, and that he must either force the Turkish camp, or perish in a place where there was want of provisions, resolved on the former; which he happily effected on the 19th of August, after considerable loss. He entirely routed the Turks, and took all their cannon, ammunition, provisions, and baggage. There fell of the infidels above 18,000 men, among whom were several great bashaws, and the Grand Vizir Cuprogli, esteemed the most accomplished person in all the Ottoman empire. The loss of the Germans was about 2000 men, of whom several were officers of distinction. But the successes that attended this victory were not so considerable, as might have been expected: for tho' general Caprara retook Lippa, and the Duke of Croy reduced Slavonia, yet Great Waradin held out still, notwithstanding all the vigorous efforts that had for some time been made against it. All this while Sir William Russell, the English ambassador, was negotiating a peace at the Porte, between

tween the two Empires, though with little appearance of success.

1692.  
Campaign  
on the  
Rhine.

The Margrave of Bareith and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel having the command of the Imperial army this year on the Rhine, and unadvisedly dividing their troops to besiege Eberenberg, marshal de Lorge had such advantage over them, that he surpriz'd the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had been detached towards Heidelberg, and took him prisoner. This obliged the Landgrave to raise the siege; who did however, afterwards, fright the French from before Rheinfield, which put an end to the campaign.

In Hun-  
gary.

But the greatest actions of the Germans were on the side of Hungary, against the Turks: from whom, after a vigorous siege, begun by general Heusler on the 28th of April, they took Great Waradin upon articles, the second of June. They found there great store of ammunition, 77 pieces of cannon, and 4 mortars. Tho' the Imperial generals, at the beginning of this campaign, had formed designs once more upon Belgrade, the vigilance of the Turks render'd them abortive.

France in-  
vaded.

Towards the end of the summer the Duke of Savoy, by the advice of Prince Eugene, made an irruption into Upper Dauphiné, in hopes to cause a revolt among the natives, who were most of them converts to power, since the revocation of the edict of Nantes. His Highness's first business was to deceive Catinat, who commanded against him in Italy; which he did, by giving out false reports, till he left that Marshal block'd up by General Palfi, between Pignerol and Suza. The Duke and Eugene then led on their army in two columns, and passed the Alps. They carried with them arms for 30,000 men, and were provided with ministers to revive among them the doctrines

doctrines of Calvinism. But the avaritious conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who raised heavy contributions wherever he came, destroy'd every other good effect, and exasperated the people against his army. The allies, however, took Guilestre, where Chalandreu commanded, with 200 Irish and 600 militia, in three days. It was then only a country town, without any considerable fortifications. Ambrun, commanded by the Marquis de Larré, and defended only by a single wall, held out six days, through the bravery of the garison. Gap, having only a small guard at the gates, received the invaders without resistance. Thus ended the expedition of the Duke of Savoy, who, being fallen ill of the small-pox, and finding his army considerably diminish'd, repass'd the Alps, carrying with him vast sums of money; 600,000 livres of which he seized of the king's revenue. The soldiers were permitted to plunder, and they too went off loaded with riches.

In 1693, the Germans were so slow in their operations on the Rhine, and the French so forward, that the latter passed that river, and invested Heidelberg on the 18th of May. They took it in a short time, and afterwards renewed their ravages in the Palatinate. During this, marshal de Lorge had passed the Neckar, to attack the Prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other side: but tho' he had been actually join'd by the Dauphin with great recruits, he durst not run any considerable hazard, and after some time repass'd the river with loss. Lewis suffered some inconvenience in his entrenchments, saved his army.

This year was fought the battle of Landen, in the Netherlands, as that of Steenkirk had been the year before; in both which the French were

1693.  
Campaign  
on the  
Rhine.

In Italy.



victorious over King William. The field of Landen, however, was dear bought by the victors : but Marshal Catinat, about two months after, obtain'd a cheap triumph over the allies in Italy, at a place call'd Marfaglia. Prince Eugene, and his Imperialists, behaved bravely in this action ; as did, on the other side, his cousin, and afterwards rival, the Duke of Vendôme. Casal, which had been blocked up ever since the beginning of the campaign, was relieved by the French after their victory. I must not forget the bravery of the English in the battle of Marfaglia ; where the Duke of Schomberg, son to the famous Marshal of that name, receiv'd a mortal wound.

In Hungary,

As for the affairs in Hungary, the Imperialists having taken the fortrefs of Jeno, prepared for the investing of Belgrade. They sat down before it the latter end of July, but did not open their trenches till the 10th of August. After several sallies, which were bravely repulsed, the Duke of Croy, who commanded in chief, order'd five forts to be built on the side of the Danube ; from whence, and from several batteries, the Imperialists play'd incessantly upon the town, and kept back the enemy's fleet. Of 14 mines the Turks made, 11 were discover'd, and the besiegers discontinued their works till they had found out the other three ; which, however, did not discourage the infidels, who hourly expected relief. The consideration of this made the Imperialists send likewise for succours : but news at length arriving, of the grand Vizir's approach with 80,000 men ; it was resolved, in a council of war, on the 10th of September, to raise the siege : which being accordingly done, with no loss, the Grand Vizir proceeded no farther, having effected

effected what he came about. Little more action happen'd this campaign in Hunpary.

In the following year, the Germans and French, commanded by Prince Lewis and Marshal de Lorge, did little else on the Rhine, than destroy each other countries, without either party's being able to bring the other to an engagement. In Italy, the Duke of Savoy, who had been all along tampering with the French, began to listen more than ever to their propofals, and spent the whole season in marches and countermarches, notwithstanding the instances of Prince Eugene.

Neither were there any great matters done in Hungary, for the Turks were considerably superior to the Imperialists in number, (who were this year, as the last, commanded by general Caprara) : yet all that ever the Grand Vizir could do, was insufficient to force their camp near Carlowitz, or to destroy their fleet. Disappointed therefore and chagrin'd, he was forced to decamp on the first and second of October, without having effected any thing. After this, the Turks having only made a fruitless attempt upon Titul, both armies betook themselves to their winter-quarters: but the Imperialists in their way made themselves masters of Guila.

In 1695, the siege of Casal was undertaken by the Imperialists, Spaniards, and Piedmontese; and on the 10th of July that important place was surrender'd. As all the allies were equally ambitious of having it, to prevent disputes, it was found necessary to demolish the fortifications, which had cost the King of France immense sums. This was the chief military transaction in Italy; as in the Netherlands was the retaking of Namur by King William, which Lewis XIV had subdued three years before. Upon the Rhine

little passed of importance, both sides being there very weak and inactive.

In Hun-  
gary.

But matters were not so calm in Hungary, where young Mustapha II, son of Mahomet IV, having succeeded Sultan Achmet II, and being a more active Prince than had swayed the Turkish scepter for many years, he resolv'd to signalize the begining of his reign by some remarkable action. Hereupon taking the field in July, he soon arrived at Belgrade ; but not caring to attack the Imperial army, then commanded by the Elector of Saxony, and being encamped near Peter Waradin, he contented himself with the taking of Lippa, which he did by storm. He also became master of the fortrefs of Titul, by a surrendry upon articles, which however were ungenerously broke by the Ottomans. In the mean time the Elector, finding that Mustapha's chief design was against Transilvania, divided his army, sending part of it under count Staremberg towards Peter Waradin, to watch the motions of the enemy, and marching himself with the remainder, being a great body of horse, to reinforce general Veterani in Transilvania. Notwithstanding these endeavours to secure that province, the Turks had been so expeditious in their marches, that before the Elector could come up, they had defeated Veterani, who had with him but 8000 men, taken him prisoner, and cut off his head. It was not Mustapha, nor his Vizir, that occasion'd this cruel execution ; but the soldiery themselves : for the Vizir, to whom they sent the head, had the body search'd for, and then buried them together. This done, the Sultan, how successful soever he had been, did not care to tempt his fortune any farther in one campaign, but returned home without any  
more



more action, to make preparations for the ensuing summer.

That campaign was remarkable in Italy for 1696.  
the defection of the Duke of Savoy from the Campaign  
grand alliance, and his appearing, within few on the  
days, at the head of two hostile armies. In Rhine,  
&c.  
Flanders little was done ; and upon the Rhine,  
nothing considerable : for the Prince of Baden  
kept close within his lines till the latter end of  
August, not thinking it advisable to meet the  
marshal de Choiseul, who had passed the Rhine  
with the French army, and staid on the German  
side six weeks, offering battle to the Prince. But  
after the return of the Landgrave of Hesse, his  
Highness passed the Rhine likewise in his turn,  
and, in conjunction with the other forces, march-  
ed towards Philipsburg, without attempting any  
thing against it. They afterwards advanced near  
the marshal, and had the pleasure to bombard him  
in his trenches, and in his head quarters at Neu-  
stadt. However, not caring to attempt any thing  
more, by reason the enemy were strongly en-  
trenched, and being also disappointed in his in-  
cursion into Lorrain, his highness, after he had  
raised great contributions, and got several hoista-  
ges, repassed the river on the 8th of October,  
and marched into winter-quarters ; which the  
French, much about the same time, did like-  
wise.

Mustapha was again in person at the head of In Hun-  
a very powerful army near Belgrade : yet the gary, a  
Elector of Saxony, finding his forces in a very drawn  
good condition, determin'd either to attack him, battle.  
or, in case he declin'd fighting, to set down be-  
fore some considerable place. Temelwaer was  
pitch'd on for a siege, whether out of a real de-  
sign to take it, or only as a feint, is uncertain :  
but scarce were the batteries raised against it, when

advice came, that the Sultan had crossed the Danube, and was approaching with his whole army. Tho' this was a false report, the Elector raised the siege, and marched to meet the Ottoman Emperor ; till finding his mistake, he return'd, and resum'd his former undertaking. This had the desir'd effect. Mustapha now advanced in earnest, to drive him from before the place ; and the Elector decamped, to observe the motions of his enemy, and the situation of their ground. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, towards close of day, the Turkish cavalry came pouring down upon the Christians with great fury ; but were so warmly received, that they were soon forced to retire. The Imperialists design was to have driven them upon their foot ; of which they were disappointed, by the too sudden coming on of the night. Next day the Imperialists had orders to retreat, because the Turks were so posted, that there was no coming at them without great disadvantage. But four days after the Turks were in motion likewise, fetching a compass to surround the Christians. This, at length, occasion'd a general engagement ; which was so obstinately maintain'd on both sides, that scarce either could well be said to obtain the victory : for tho' the Germans kept the field, and the Turks retired and entrenched themselves, the retreat of the Germans soon after, without attempting any thing farther, shew'd they had nothing to boast of. The loss, in all appearance, was not very different, the Imperialists never magnifying that of the Turks to above 4000, and acknowledging 3000 on their own side. The Emperor had, however, one considerable advantage this year, by the taking of the strong castle of Uranogratz, and the fort of Tuderaw, both in Croatia ; those places serving, for the future,

future, as a barrier against any incursions on that side.

On the 9th of May, in the year 1697, pursuant to preliminaries before settled, a treaty of peace was enter'd upon at Ryfwick, a palace belonging to his Britannic majesty, between the plenipotentiaries of France on one side, and those of the Emperor, the Empire, England, Spain, and the States-general, on the other. The mediator pitch'd upon was Charles XI, King of Sweden, who sent his embassador, the baron of Lillienroot, to represent his person: but that monarch soon after dying, the mediation was from that time continu'd in the name of his son, Charles XII, afterwards so famous, but then a minor. Tho' the allies drew up their pretensions, they refused at first to give the French plenipotentiaries a copy of them, till they had declared, that they had received their master's orders to give them theirs: but the French insisting, that they had nothing to demand, and were ready to answer whatever was demanded of them, the allies alter'd their resolution, and proceeded to treat of commerce, and a cessation of arms. It was some time, however, before they enter'd upon the discussion of particular grievances, several intervening accidents, as usual, retarding the negociations. Mean while each party expected such news from one quarter or another, as might favour its respective interests.

Among the many candidates for the crown of Poland, upon the death of John Sobieski, the French put up the Prince of Conti, and thought themselves sure of carrying their point. The confederates, on the other hand, had their eyes upon James Sobieski, son of the late King, and brother-in-law both to the Emperor, and the Elector of Bavaria. But these alliances, instead

1697.  
The treaty of Ryf-  
wick.

Saxony  
chosen  
King of  
Poland.



of promoting, did but prejudice his interest, and rais'd in the Polish Lords a jealousy of his power. It was necessary, therefore, that some other candidate should be espoused, in order to rival the Prince of Conti. The Elector of Saxony, who had scarce been thought to have any such design, was this competitor, and managed with great address. About the latter end of the spring he went to Vienna, under pretence of concerting measures for an ensuing campaign in Hungary, where, it was given out, he was again to command the Imperial forces: but his secret intention was to enter into such measures with the Emperor, as might secure to him the crown of Poland, with a view to which he renounced the Lutheran, and embraced the Catholic religion. When he departed from Vienna, the talk was various, and some did not scruple to say, that he had differ'd with the Emperor, which made him quit the command in Hungary. When he got home, and began to raise forces, the Elector of Brandenburg took the alarm, and imagin'd somewhat was intended against him: but the motion of those forces towards the frontiers of Poland soon removed this mistake, and clear'd up the difficulty. The confederate powers, finding the prejudice too strong against Sobieski, gave their interest to the Elector Augustus, who was chosen by a majority of twenty-one, and declared by the bishop of Cujavia, notwithstanding that the Prince of Conti had been before return'd by the archbishop of Gnesna.

Peace  
concluded  
at Ryf-  
wick.

The arrival of this news, at Ryfswick, extremely mortify'd the French plenipotentiaries. However, the conferences went on, and the French offer'd to his Catholic majesty Tournay, Condé, Menin, and Ypres, as an equivalent for Luxem-

Luxemburg ; and for Strasburg they offer'd to resign to the Emperor Brisac, Philipsburg, and Friburg. At length, on the 20th of September, the English, Spanish, and French plenipotentiaries sign'd their respective treaties with France, a little after midnight. The Imperial ministers for some time stood out, and openly protested against what had been done, declaring, it was now a second time that peace had been concluded with France (meaning the first at Nimeguen) in which the Emperor and the Empire had been excluded ; and that therefore the States of the Empire, for the future, would not be so easily wrought upon to make alliances. His Imperial majesty, however, had time given him to weigh the matter maturely : which having done, at last, on the 30th of October, a peace was likewise concluded between him and Lewis XIV, the particulars of which need not be here enumerated.

Tho' a suspension of arms had been agreed on, during this intervening time ; yet the news of it did not arrive soon enough at the Prince of Baden's camp, near the Rhine, to prevent his taking the castle of Eberemburg. But it was a sufficient mortification to the Emperor, that the glorious success of his arms in Hungary, under Prince Eugene of Savoy (who this year for the first time commanded in chief) was not known soon enough at Ryfwick to stop the hands of his confederates, and prevent their signing the peace, till the French comply'd farther with the Emperor and Empire's demands. It was too late, however, now to retract what had been done, and all that Leopold had left, was to make the best terms he could for himself, upon this joyful news. This battle was won the 11th of September, but nine days before the conclusion

sion of peace. It begun but two hours before night ; great part of the Turkish army, not suspecting an attack, having pass'd over the river Tibiscus. Never was victory more complete, nor slaughter more bloody. The Turks lost their Grand Vizir, twenty-seven bashaws, and above 20,000 men, who were all slain on the field of battle. They had, besides, 10 or 12,000 drown'd in the river, 6000 wounded, and some, tho' not many, made prisoners. The value of the booty amounted to several millions. There were 6000 waggons, laden with ammunition and provisions, 6000 camels, 5000 horses, and a very great number of other cattle ; 100 pieces of large cannon, and 60 field pieces ; 500 drums, and as many colours ; 48 pair of kettle drums ; the Grand Signor's tent, valued at above 40,000 florins ; and a chariot, with six horses, wherein were ten women of the Sultan's seraglio. Mustapha himself, full of wrath and indignation, was among the first that fled.

An incur-  
sion into,  
Bosnia.

As nothing considerable previous to this action, except the reduction of some malcontents by Prince Vaudemont, had happen'd this year in Hungary ; so the victory came too late in the year to be greatly improved. All that was farther done, this campaign, was the making an incursion into Bosnia, whence the soldiers return'd with a considerable booty.

1698.  
Peace of  
Carlo-  
witz.

It could not but be expected that the Turks, after this terrible shock, should desire peace. The Emperor's demands ran very high, and both armies again took the field. However, thro' the interposition of Lord Paget and Mr Collier, the British and Dutch ministers at the Porte, his Imperial majesty began to hearken to terms of accommodation. A treaty was accordingly set on foot at Carlowitz, under the media-  
tion



tion of England and Holland, in which not only the Emperor, but the Venetians and Poles, enter'd into a negotiation with the Turks. Some differences, according to custom, arising, the plenipotentiaries were obliged to send to their respective masters, before they could proceed. The peace between the Imperialists and the Turks was sign'd the 26th of January, 1699, and that of the Poles a few days after: but the Venetians still holding out, it was the 7th of February before they were prevail'd upon to subscribe. By the treaties at large, to which I can only refer, may be seen the great acquisitions and advantages gained from the Mahometans by this peace, especially by his Imperial majesty, who had been engaged with them in a bloody and expensive war, of fifteen years continuance.

1699.

When Lewis XIV gave peace to Europe, by the treaty of Ryfwick, it was but to be ready for an event, which was every day expected. Charles II, King of Spain, in whom ended the elder branch of the house of Austria, was in a languishing condition. This put the powers of Europe into some commotion, as there were several who claim'd the succession to the vast dominions of that monarchy. The Dauphin of France, son of Lewis XIV and Maria-Theresa the sister of Charles, would have had the most incontestable right, had not a formal renunciation of such right been made at the marriage of his parents. Next to him in descent, and consequently first on this occasion, was the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, grandson to a younger sister of the King of Spain, who had married the Emperor. His Imperial majesty, as head of the house of Austria, had also a claim for himself and his sons. In this manner things stood,

Origin of  
the last  
general  
war.

stood, when the sickly King, at the instigation of his Britannic majesty, declared the Prince of Bavaria his heir and successor, to the exclusion of the Princes of France.

The treaties of partition.

Lewis XIV, piqu'd at this indignity, yet thinking it best for the present to stifle his resentment, communicated to the English court, by count Tallard his ambassador, a plan of the famous partition treaty, which dismember'd Naples, Sicily, and some other places, from the Spanish dominions, in favour of the Dauphin, and the duchy of Milan in favour of the Archduke Charles, leaving the rest to the Electoral Prince. No one can tell what France would have done, in case this treaty had come to take place : but the principal heir dying before the present possessor, Lewis had then some pretence for renewing his claim. As it was not proper, however, to do this openly, he consented to the temporary expedient of another treaty, by which the Archduke was allotted what had been before settled on the Electoral Prince, and the Duke of Lorraine was to have the duchy of Milan, in lieu of his own, which Lewis was to annex to his dominions. But while the other contracting powers relied on the faith of this solemn agreement, the King of France, by dint of bribery, prevail'd on the Spanish ministry, and afterwards on the court of Rome, to procure a will from the declining King, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. Mean while he kept up his army, as in time of war, tho' all the other parties had disbanded theirs, and march'd great bodies of troops to the borders of Spain and the Netherlands, there to be ready at the first notice.

1700.  
King of  
Spain  
dies.

On the first of November, 1700, the King of Spain dies, and a courier from his council is immedi-

immediately dispatch'd to the court of France, with advice of the disposition made in his will, and a request that the Duke of Anjou, now their Sovereign, may be sent among them. Lewis seemingly hesitates at accepting, what he had been at so much pains and expence to secure : but at last consents, with advice of his council, and marches his forces into the Spanish provinces, under the denomination of neutral troops. In a word, he acknowledges the Duke of Anjou for King of Spain, by the name of Philip V ; gives advice thereof to the Spanish regency, and to all the courts in Europe. This was the rise of that long war, the transactions of which will fill up not only a great part of the remainder of Leopold's reign, but of the whole reign of his son Joseph, and the first years of that of the late Emperor Charles VI.

Lewis XIV left not a stone unturned, at Sense of Vienna, London, and the Hague, by his mini- the several ster the Marquis de Villars, and the Counts of courts of Tallard, Briord, and D'Avaux, that the motives Europe. which induced him to prefer the acceptance of his Catholic majesty's will, before the treaty of partition, might appear plausible. King William plainly testified, by all his conduct, that he disapproved the measures of the French court. The States-general shewed less resolution, since their high mightinesses acknowledged King Philip. The Elector of Bavaria, governor of the Netherlands, and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, enter'd into an alliance with France. The Emperor, resenting to the last degree this invasion of his rights, would hearken to no propositions whatsoever. The Swiss and the Grisons refused to acknowledge the new King ; while the Duke of Savoy, at once, gave into the sentiments of his most Christian majesty. Prince

VAUGHANT,



Vaudemont, governor of the Milanese, received with submission the orders of Madrid and Versailles. Pope Clement XI was one of the first who acknowledged the young monarch, in hopes that such concession might secure Italy from an impending war.

Leopold  
resolves  
on war.

In this situation of affairs, the Emperor experienced too late his mistake, and the fatal effects of neglecting the advice of his most able counsellors. The Catholic King had applied to him, with great earnestness, for troops to secure the Italian dominions, and would have received the Archduke into Spain before his death. Prince Eugene was among those, who thought the compliance with both highly necessary; but had the misfortune to vote with the minority. As the thing was now past recall, it was proper to find some way of bringing matters back to their first situation, and of securing by arms the rights of the house of Austria. The court of Vienna was sensible it had several friends in Spain, Naples, Milan, and other States of the Spanish monarchy, who would be ready to espouse its interest, when they found it in a capacity to support them. Thus the war was resolved on, in expectation that England, Holland, and even the whole Empire, would join their forces, to prevent the storm which threaten'd all Europe, in case the house of Bourbon should obtain all the kingdoms and states of the Spanish monarchy.

Disposi-  
tions for  
it.

Italy being resolved on for the seat of the war, the Emperor settled with Count Mansfeldt, Prince Lewis of Baden, Prince Eugene, and other generals and ministers, the number of troops to be employ'd in every part of the service. It was concluded, that the army in Italy, under Prince Eugene, should consist of 19,200 foot, 6000 horse, and 4000 dragoons; and that on the Rhine,

Rhine, under the Prince of Baden, of 14,400 foot, 4000 horse, and 2000 dragoons. Three other armies, less than these, were to be kept up, for the defence of the hereditary countries, Hungary, and Sclavonia.

The greatest difficulty that now attended the State of Emperor, was to find out some Italian Prince, <sup>Italy.</sup> who would supply him with a fortified place, to secure a retreat. Palazuoli, the Duke of Guastalla's minister, assured him directly, upon application, that he might without all doubt send his troops into the territories of his master, where they would meet with a favourable reception, and all the conveniencies requisite for their quarters. The Duke of Modena did not express himself in such plain terms, but assured the Emperor, that when his troops were in a capacity to assist him, he would declare openly in his favour. I have before mention'd the Duke of Savoy; and his highness of Mantua was also engaged, tho' without declaring, in the French interest. Lewis employ'd likewise all his ministers in Germany, with the Princes and States of the Empire, to engage them to make no attempt against the two crowns: and, what surpris'd every body, the persecutor of his own subjects offer'd his assistance to the German Protestants, in order to their obtaining full satisfaction according to the treaty of Westphalia.

Tho' King William acknowledg'd the Duke of Anjou in April, 1701, he did it only to gain <sup>1701. England and Hol-</sup> time: for the same summer he set on foot the grand alliance, to recover the Spanish dominions <sup>land pre-</sup> out of that Prince's hands; and no sooner was <sup>pare for</sup> d'Avaux, the French ambassador, departed from Holland, but great preparations were made on all sides for begining the war. England and the <sup>war.</sup> States-

- States-general were equally active and industrious, both in fitting out fleets, and raising land forces.

Hostilities  
begin in  
Italy.

As the Milanese is a fief of the Empire, which Charles V gave to the Spanish branch of his house, the succession of it was in some measure independant of the Spanish succession, and the heirs of that branch failing by the death of the late King of Spain, it returned of course to the Emperor. However, the two Kings insisted, that that state was a part of the succession of Charles II, granted to Philip V, tho' of a family not related by the heirs male to that of Austria. To get possession of this, Lewis XIV declared the Duke of Savoy Generalissimo of his army in Italy, and agreed to pay him a subsidy of 60,000 crowns a month, in consideration of 2500 horse, and 8000 foot, which that Prince was to furnish. Lewis sent the best of his own troops to join these; and the Duke of Mantua, for a promise of 36,000 crowns per month, which were never paid, received 5000 of them into his capital. Thus the French general, Catinat, committed the first act of hostility in Italy, and from Mantua took possession of several other places, in the Modenese and Parmesan, which he thought necessary to prevent the penetration of Prince Eugene into the Milanese. Towards the end of April, however, that Prince appear'd at the head of the Imperial troops, whose rendezvous was appointed between Trent and Roveredo: and as soon as they assembled together he order'd them to march towards the Veronese, resolving to open himself a passage sword in hand.

Eugene  
penetrates  
into Italy,  
and wins  
the action  
at Carpi.

Catinat having marched 18,000 men toward Chiusa, near the lake of Guarda, Prince Eugene took a survey of his posts, and ordering several regiments to an eminence, with his cannon annoy'd the enemy's camp; mean while he gave  
such



such instructions, that in less than 24 hours a road was made six miles long, and nine foot broad, thro' which the carriages, equipages, and artillery passed, without obstruction or inconvenience. Catinat, surpris'd to the last degree, removed to secure other defiles ; but Eugene, having cross'd over the mountains, march'd to the banks of the Adige, and encamp'd in the neighbourhood of Verona. In a word, to the astonishment of all Europe, that Prince overcame difficulties that were thought insuperable, and amused the marshal with various motions, till he brought him to extend his army round an elbow of the Tartaro, so that he could not easily draw it together. Then crossing that river, at the post of Càrpi, he defeated a part of the enemy before the rest came up, and by an action which lasted only an hour, and seem'd a trifle in itself, obtained a decisive victory. The French immediately retreated towards the Mincio, abandon'd all the posts on that river, left the garison of Castiglione to be made prisoners of war, and never halted (Prince Eugene still continuing at their heels) till they had got on the west side of the Oglio, not thinking themselves safe without a river between them and the Germans.

Lewis XIV, confounded at the retreat of his And the army, order'd forty battalions, and seven regi- battle of ments of horse, to reinforce it, under marshal Chiari. de Villeroy. He and Catinat repass'd the river, to give battle to the Prince : but repass'd it to their cost ; for his highness, having got possession of the post of Chiari, dispos'd his whole army in such a manner, that the French, at the instigation of Villeroy, attack'd it to great disadvantage, without knowing it to be more than a party, and in two hours time lost above 2000 men, to no purpose. Eugene had only 36 men killed,

killed, and kept his ground both when the enemy advanced, and when they retreated. As he was much inferior to the French, it had been imprudent to offer them battle in the open field: but his parties had usually the advantage in skirmishes, of which there happen'd many in six weeks, for during that time the armies lay within a league of each other. It was glorious enough for the Prince, that he forced them to decamp first, and retire into winter quarters. By this means he got possession of all the towns in the Mantuan, except the capital and Goito, and soon after surpris'd Mirandola. Above twenty places, with their garisons, fell thus into his hands.

1702.  
War de-  
clared  
against  
France.

England and Holland not having yet declared, nothing pass'd this summer in the Netherlands, tho' an army was drawn together on each side. Lewis had possession of all the towns there, and several others upon the Rhine and the Maese. His proclamation of the Pretender, upon the death of King James, increased the ardor of King William and the English nation to attack him: which they were just upon the point of doing when that monarch, by a fall from his horse, left his three crowns to the Princess of Denmark, his sister-in-law. She, the Emperor, and the States-general, all declared war early in the spring, and the Earl of Marlborough was appointed to command the armies of England and Holland.

Campaign  
on the  
Maese.

The first enterprize of the confederates, before the arrival of this general, was partly unfortunate. Keyserfwaert, an important place, was besieged, and, for want of having taken the true measures, the siege became long and bloody, tho' at last successful. The motions of Tallard and Boufflers, whose armies were superior to the allies, greatly alarm'd the Dutch, and the effect  
of

of <sup>+</sup> m was prevented only by the vigilance of Count Tilly, and the Earl of Athlone. Boufflers had meditated no less than the surprisal of Nimeguen, and thought himself sure of the enterprise: but the event made abundant amends for the danger, and that general, with his pupil the Duke of Burgundy, kept himself all the rest of the campaign upon the defensive. The arrival of the Earl of Marlborough gave a new face to affairs: he offered battle, and was refused; and the French, with only making one unsuccessful attempt on Hulst, were witnesses to the taking of Venlo, Stevenswaert, Ruremonde, and Liege.

As France was thus unsuccessful on the Maese, On the misfortune accompany'd her also beyond the Rhine. Rhine. Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded there under Joseph King of the Romans, made himself master of the strong fortress of Landau, under the very nose of marshal Catinat, whose army was indeed inferior to that of the Emperor.

But the good genius of France did not long delay, in some measure, to qualify the calamity that threaten'd her from this loss. The Elector of Bavaria declares. The Elector of Bavaria, hitherto impenetrable, tho' in secret alliance with Lewis XIV, threw off the mask, and possessed himself by surprise of the Imperial city of Ulm, to punish, as he pretended, the circles of Suabia and Franconia, for having taken part with the Emperor, notwithstanding a treaty they had made with his Electoral highness, for maintaining the tranquility of the Empire. This unexpected action was follow'd by his most Christian majesty's orders to the marquis de Villars, to march with a part of his army on the other side of the Rhine, in order to join the Elector, who was advancing thro' the Black Forest.



Battle of  
Freidlin-  
gen.

The marquis march'd directly to Huningen, with 32 battalions and 36 squadrons, in order to pass the Rhine there : but the vigilant Prince Lewis of Baden prevented him, and render'd that passage much more difficult than it was imagin'd at the court of Versailles. In a word, it produced a very bloody engagement between Freidlingen and Esslingen, in which no less than 4000 men, on both sides, remain'd dead on the spot. The Imperialists being without cavalry, and therefore much weaker than the French, and perceiving that count de Guiscard was arriv'd with fresh succours, thought fit to retire, and leave the French masters of the field of battle, after they had kept it six hours. For this action, which the court of France call'd a complete victory, Villars got a marshal's battoon : but that it was no great advantage appear'd soon after, when the new marshal refused a second engagement, repass'd the Rhine, found the projected junction impracticable, and suffer'd the taking of Treves and Traerbach.

Campaign  
in Italy.

As to the situation of things in Italy, Prince Eugene had well nigh caused a revolution in Naples ; and Cremona, the strongest town in all Lombardy, had like to have fallen into his hands. He actually surpriz'd it, and kept possession eight hours, carrying off with him marshal Villeroy prisoner. But the design on Naples was discover'd by some of the principal actors ; and that on Cremona fail'd at last, for want of a punctual obedience to his orders. After this the Duke of Vendôme, who was sent to replace Villeroy, seem'd a little to retrieve the French affairs in Italy, where the Prince was abundantly too weak : but his highness had carried off this general too, from his head quarters, to bear the other company, if the officer, who had the  
manage

management of that affair, had executed it with as much dexterity as the general had concerted it. Vendôme return'd the affront, by cannonading the Prince's quarters.

Upon the arrival of King Philip in Italy, it was to be expected that the utmost efforts would be made there. Accordingly a party of Imperial horse, under general Visconti, received a defeat at Santa Vittoria. The consequence of this advantage was the reduction of the Modenese; which straiten'd Prince Eugene so much, that, being in no condition to come to a general engagement, with an army of 24,000 men against 40,000, he did all in his power to avoid it; at the same time omitting no precautions for the security of his garisons at Ostiglia, Guastalla, Mirandola, and Luzzara.

King Philip, expecting a reinforcement daily from Prince Vaudemont, march'd up towards the last of these places. Eugene now found, that if he defer'd coming to blows any longer, he must do it upon yet more unequal terms. He therefore thought fit to attack the young King, and marshal Vendôme, before the arrival of those succours. After being prevented in a stratagem, which must have gain'd him a complete victory, he march'd out of his entrenchments on the 15th of August, and met the enemy. Upon this, there happen'd one of the most bloody and obstinate battles, that had been heard of in the memory of man, the fire of which was more terrible than had ever been known. The issue of it was, that the French, notwithstanding their superiority of 16,000 in 40,000, were beaten above a thousand paces from the field of action; tho' they afterwards took Luzzara by means of their reinforcements, after a siege

of eleven days. The Loss on both sides in this battle was very great, and nearly equal.

1703.  
Campaign  
on the  
Rhine.

In the ensuing campaign, the diet of Ratisbon took so vigorous a resolution in favour of the common cause, against France and the Elector of Bavaria, as made the courts of Versailles and Munich very uneasy. Lest the effects should answer the menaces of the diet, Lewis XIV resolved early in the spring, or rather in the winter, to prevent the Imperialists, and open a way of communication with the Bavarians. The French attack'd, in the begining of March, the important fortrefs of Kehl, which surrender'd ten or twelve days after opening the trenches. That place being thus taken, and all the forts and lines along the river Kintse abandoned by the Germans, Prince Lewis of Baden drew all his forces into the lines of Stolhoffen, wherein he was attack'd in April by M. de Villars, with such an army, that, without the timely succour of fifteen Dutch battalions, under the command of major-general Goor, those lines would have been forced, and the whole Empire exposed to the French. But these latter, being repuls'd with loss in that attack, turn'd back on a sudden towards Offenbourg, and, without any opposition, march'd thro' passes and defiles, which were thought impracticable, towards the Danube, where they join'd the Elector of Bavaria, who had already gain'd several advantages over the Imperialists, and taken some strong places. This success of the French obliged Prince Lewis to weaken his forces on the Rhine, to cover Franconia and Suabia, lest those two circles should be persuaded to embrace the neutrality, offer'd them by France,

Prince



Prince Lewis had all the time he could desire An at-  
to effect his designs ; for the French and Bava- tempt to  
rians had another project of more importance in open a  
view, which obliged them to divide their forces. commu-  
This new project was to open a communication with Italy  
between their army on the Danube, and the prevent-  
French forces in Italy ; which would have obliged ed.

Prince Eugene to abandon the latter, and might  
have proved the ruin of the whole empire. Ac-  
cordingly, the Elector of Bavaria marched into  
the county of Tirol, where he took in a few days  
so many important posts, that had the Duke of  
Vendôme march'd into the Trentine at the same  
time, it is very likeliely his Electoral highness would  
have succeeded in that great enterprize. What re-  
tarded the march of the Duke of Vendôme, was  
the difficulty of undertaking, which he expostu-  
lated for some time with his court. These delays,  
in all human probability, were the means of saving  
the Empire : for some Imperial troops, with the  
brave boors of Tirol, had time to draw together  
against the Bavarians, whom they defeated in sever-  
al rencounters, and at last beat out of their coun-  
try, retaking all the posts they had seized, ex-  
cept Kuffstein. They then marched against the  
French, who had already advanced to Trent,  
and oblig'd them likewise to retire. The bishop  
of Brixen, more a soldier than a priest, distin-  
guished himself on this occasion.

The Elector of Bavaria having rejoin'd the A project  
French, who continued all this while entrenched of Prince  
near Dillingen, between Ulm and Donawert, Lewis  
parted once more from them ; and Prince Lewis prevented  
of Baden, having notice of his design to seize by the de-  
Augsburg, notwithstanding an agreement of neu- feat of  
trality concluded for that city, his highness di- count Sti-  
vided likewise his forces, marching with all pos- rum.  
sible speed to cover that place, where he arrived  
just as the van-guard of the Bavarians appear'd

in fight. This happy success of Prince Lewis put him upon a design of greater consequence ; the execution of which would at once cut off all communication between the enemy and the country of Bavaria : but the Elector and Marshal Villars, having timely notice of the march of count Stirum towards Donawert, quitted the banks of the river Lech, with the utmost secrecy, and marched with so much diligence, that count Stirum found himself on a sudden attack'd in form by the main army, and in the rear by the marquis Duffon, who came out of his entrenchments at Dillingen. That action happen'd near Hockstedt, and proved very unfortunate to the Imperialists, tho' they did not lose a great number of men ; for the loss of their cannon and baggage render'd that body, in a manner, unserviceable during the rest of the campaign.

Several  
places are  
taken  
by the  
French,  
&c.

This disgrace, and the taking of Brisac, which was treacherously surrender'd to the Duke of Burgundy, defeated the projects of Prince Lewis of Baden, whose forces, being divided, did nothing at all ; while, on the other hand, the French improv'd that favourable opportunity. To conclude the campaign, they retook the fortrefs of Landau, notwithstanding the brave resistance of the governor, and count Tallard obtained a victory over the Prince of Hesse Cassel's army, sent to relieve the place. Kempten and Augsburg had the same fate ; and never was the Empire in such danger. The delays and unseasonable disputes of its members, were the occasion of so many disgraces to the common cause, and furnish'd opportunities for all the advantages to the enemy,

Campaign  
in the Ne-  
therlands.

In a word, the Queen of England and the States-general were the only powers engaged in the confederacy, that answer'd, by real effects, their treaties and engagements. Their forces alone, in  
the



the Netherlands, acted the offensive part upon the Rhine and the Maese, tho' they were weaken'd by 15 battalions, sent to the assistance of the Empire. There the Duke (late Earl) of Malborough took Bonne, Huy, and Limburg, open'd the communication of those rivers, and added all the country between them to his former conquests. The Dutch, indeed, under Baron Opdam, received a shock in the battle of Eckeren; which however had no bad consequences, and only raised the reputation of their brave infantry.

Lewis XIV, who omitted nothing to give Troubles the Emperor new trouble, was the cause why in Hungary his Imperial majesty could not make greater efforts. He had prevail'd on Prince Ragotzi to take arms in Hungary, and furnish'd him with money for troops and provisions. Nothing, on that side, was wanting but the Turk, who had suffer'd too much already to begin the war again. At the same time there was another alarm from the North, where Charles XII, by his rapid successes against Denmark, Muscovy, and Poland, began to spread terror in the Empire. The Hungarian insurrection, however, was what gave the Emperor most uneasiness. Prince Ragotzi, and Count Berzini, another malcontent, made most terrible ravages in Upper Hungary. The first, tho' beaten by general Montecuculi, was still at the head of 10,000 men, with whom, and in conjunction with Berzini, he had overrun the country, and spread desolation wherever he came. Presburg itself was in such danger, that the court was oblig'd to take away the crown of Hungary, and carry it to Vienna.

The Emperor, to stop the progress of these Eugene malcontents, who seem'd to threaten Austria sent thither. himself, order'd the Danish troops in Italy, that were in his pay, to march into Hungary, intending



tending to join with them 12,000 Prussians. He nominated Prince Eugene to command these troops ; who repairing to Presburg, sent out several detachments to hinder the rebels from advancing. This, indeed, was all he could do, as the troops promised him were not sent, and his little army consisted chiefly of new-raiſ'd Austrian militia.

The Duke  
of Savoy  
breaks  
with  
France.

I have before mention'd Marshal Vendôme's attempt to join the Elector of Bavaria : but this was not all that happen'd remarkable this year in Italy. The Duke of Savoy, whom Prince Eugene had been all along tampering with, came secretly into the alliance against France. Lewis XIV, having discover'd his intrigues, was so extreme angry, that he took revenge on his troops in French pay, and made them prisoners of war. The Duke, in return, arrested the ambassadors of France and Spain, dispatch'd couriers to London, Vienna, and Hungary, shut up the gates of Turin, imprison'd all the French in his dominions, disarm'd a regiment of French horse, seized 300 chests of muskets, and, finally, declared war against France in October. Lewis hereupon wrote a menacing letter, and his royal highness seem'd on the point of being divested of his dominions by the Duke of Vendôme, when Count Staremberg's famous march, by which he eluded all the stratagems of the French Marshal, and join'd the distress'd Prince at Canelli, who had already lost most of his garisons, inspired him with new resolution to stand by the alliance.

The Arch-  
duke de-  
clar'd  
King of  
Spain.

Tho' this war was undertaken in behalf of the house of Austria, of which the Emperor was chief ; yet the confederate powers, jealous lest the dominions of both branches of that house should unite in one person, and thereby erect a power equal

equal to what they fear'd in the house of Bourbon, insisted, that his Imperial majesty should give up his own claims on the Spanish monarchy, in favour of the Archduke Charles, his second son. Accordingly, his Imperial majesty, in full council, made a formal resignation of his said rights to the King of the Romans, and the King of the Romans solemnly transfer'd them to his brother, who was thereupon acknowledged King of Spain, and complimented as such by the ministers of the allies. The new King set out from Vienna to Holland, and from thence to England, where, after being magnificently entertain'd by the Queen at Windsor, he went on board a British fleet at Portsmouth, and set sail for his kingdoms. Thus begun the rivalry between the two Kings of Spain, which continued to the end of the war. About this time Peter King of Portugal, as well as the Duke of Savoy, came into the alliance in support of Charles.

Leopold, at the same time, was in a very critical situation. Besides that the Elector of Bavaria, supported by Marshal Villars, made a prodigious progress; and that the French arms were not less successful on the Rhine: the rebels in Hungary grew bolder every day; and the Emperor, obliged as he was to support the Duke of Savoy, could make but very feeble efforts to reduce them to obedience. An attempt had been made by the ministers of England and Holland, to bring about an accommodation with Ragotzi and Berzini, who came to Presburg under a safe conduct from the Emperor: but the demands made by those malcontents were termed exorbitant at the court of Vienna, where the ministry chose rather to crush them as traitors, than treat with them as parties, and his Imperial majesty was induced to reject them with indignation.

Critical  
state of  
the Em-  
peror.

As

1704.  
After  
great a-  
larms, a  
cessation  
of arms in  
Hungary.

As the war in Hungary was therefore necessarily to be renewed, Prince Eugene waited at Presburg for the troops that were to reinforce him. They did not come till the rebels, under Count Caroli, had made fresh progress, and even penetrated to the gates of Vienna. They burnt several villages in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which carried the alarm into the city, and spread such an universal consternation there, that it is thought, had Caroli, with his troops, then come up, they might have surpriz'd that capital, or at least have pillaged the suburbs. The guards at the gates were doubled at this alarm, and the King of the Romans drew an entrenchment round all the buildings. But no enemy all this while appearing, the people at last came to themselves; the peasants return'd home, and the citizens open'd their shops as usual. Eugene sent general Heister to intercept these invaders in their turn, and give them battle. That general posted himself between the Raab and the Danube; and the rebels, having no intelligence of this disposition, fell directly into the snare. They left 1500 men dead on the spot, and the greatest part of their booty. This shock had such an effect upon the rest, that no less than 10,000 of them submitted at once, and obtain'd their pardon. Most of the others came in by degrees, which made their leaders offer propositions of peace. The Imperial court, in its present circumstances, made no longer a scruple of treating with men they distinguish'd by the name of rebels: accordingly, a suspension of arms was agreed on till September, when a conference was to be held at Schemnitz.

The allies  
called in  
to succour  
the Em-  
peror.

Things being thus quiet in Hungary, the Emperor turn'd all his thoughts towards the Elector of Bavaria; and found no better way to reduce  
that



that Prince to reason, than by calling in the allies to the succour of the Empire. Count Wratislau was order'd to negotiate this affair with Queen Anne, and Eugene wrote at the same time, in the most pathetic manner, to the Duke of Marlborough, her captain-general and chief favourite. The Queen was so well inclin'd to the undertaking, that she order'd his grace over into Holland, to solicit the concurrence of the States in the execution of it. Their High Mightinesses readily gave their consent; but the mercenaries in their service, particularly the Danes, refusing to march without their arrears, the province of Groningen was mortgaged for 400,000 ducats, to remove that difficulty.

The English general, at the head of 40,000 men, marched from the Moselle, where the confederates assembled, divided his army into several bodies, for the greater expedition, and came and encamp'd near Hailbron. France, attentive to the motions of the allies, ordered the marshals Tallard and Villeroy to unite their forces, and advance to support the Elector of Bavaria. They concerted together the means of opening a way into the Electorate, while the Princes Eugene and Lewis of Baden came to the Duke of Marlborough, to consult with him about the operations of the allies. They agreed that the Imperial army should join that of England and Holland, and both march united, under Prince Lewis and the Duke, who were to command alternately, into Bavaria, there to give battle to the Elector and marshal Marfin; while Eugene, with a body of 25 or 30,000 men, kept near the Rhine, to observe the marshals Tallard and Villeroy. These generals design'd to have attack'd him, if an express had not arrived from court in haste, ordering

ing Tallard to hasten into Bavaria, and leave Villeroy on the Rhine to command alone.

Motions  
of both  
armies,  
and battle  
of Schel-  
lenburg.

When Eugene saw that his presence was no more necessary, he left the Count of Nassau-Weilburg to command the lines, and advanced to observe Tallard. With 24,000 men he got within a day's march of that general, who had stop'd to reduce Willingen, before any news arrived of his motions: but Tallard then redoubling his haste, it was impracticable for the Prince to intercept him. While this was doing, the armies of Marlborough and Prince Lewis join'd at Lutzhäusen, where it was agreed in a council of war, to attack the Elector of Bavaria before Tallard came up: but as this could not be done without first reducing of Donawert, near which the Elector had fortified the mountain of Schellenburg, it was resolv'd to begin with an attack on that place. The consequence of this resolution was the famous battle of Schellenburg, in which, after an engagement of an hour and half, with great slaughter, the Bavarians were entirely beaten, and the Duke of Marlborough won immortal honour. The bridge of Donawert breaking down under the croud, a great part of the fugitives swam over the Danube, and left the allies masters of the town: and the shock given in this action to the Elector's troops was so great, that it obliged his highness to retire from his camp at Lauingen, and entrench himself under the cannon of Augsburg. The Duke of Marlborough took possession of Rain, and ravaged Bavaria in such a manner, that he brought the Elector to receive propositions of peace: but the approach of the French succours, the improbability of their junction being hindred, and the obligations his Electoral highness thought himself under to stand by.

the

the French monarch, determined him at last to continue firm to his engagements.

Tallard came up with the Elector under the walls of Augsburg, where they agreed to de-joins the camp, and march to attack Prince Eugene, be-Elector, before the Duke of Marlborough could join him. and Marlborough  
That Prince, finding it impossible to intercept joins Eu- the French reinforcement, had halted at Mun-ster, near Donawert; whither the Duke, with the gros of the army (the Prince of Baden, with a detachment, being gone to besiege Ingolstadt) advanced to support him with all expedition. The French and Bavarians were obliged to take a greater compass, in order to pass the Danube; and the Duke and Eugene were ready to receive them, when they appear'd in the plain of Hockstedt. Both sides were eager to come to an engagement; the allies, to end by one decisive stroke a war that might have proved fatal in the continuance, and the French and Bavarians in a vain confidence of their own superiority. Neither army consisted of many less than 80,000 men, who drew up in sight of each other between a wood and the river Danube, in a plain two leagues long, but unequal in breadth. I shall say nothing more of their dispositions, than that Prince Eugene commanded the right of the allies, which extended to the wood, and the Duke of Marlborough the left, next to the river. Tallard commanded the right of the French, Marfin the center, and the Elector of Bavaria with his own troops formed the left wing. The Duke of Marlborough passed a brook with little interruption from the enemy, and then advanced against Tallard, who had posted most of his foot in the village of Blenheim on the Danube. There were two other villages nearer the center of action,



action, called Oberklau and Onterklau, which the French had likewise crouded with infantry.

The  
battle of  
Blenheim.

Onterklau, with two water-mills which served it for bastions, was soon taken by lord Cuts and general Wilks: but two unsuccessful attempts were made upon Oberklau, with great loss, especially to the Dutch; and they were at last forced to content themselves with keeping it invested, during the action, tho' the ground about it was cover'd with dead bodies. By this means they prevented Tallard's horse from rallying behind it, under the fire of the foot within, as they had before done, and left them no resource but in their own valour. Soon did the marshal now see his want of infantry in the field; but it was too late to supply that defect. He did indeed bring up 8 battalions, but to no other purpose than to be slaughter'd by the Duke of Marlborough's horse, who cut them all in pieces, except a few, who lay still among the dead. The whole wing was push'd; squadrons of the Gendarms plung'd into the Danube, and were there drown'd, or knock'd on the head by small shot from the shore. Tallard himself, riding towards Blenheim, to bring off the 27 battalions there posted, was taken prisoner by an aid de camp of the Prince of Hesse, and all was victory in this quarter.

A com-  
pleat vic-  
tory.

Prince Eugene, on the right, had not been so successful. A battery of cannon, planted on an eminence, three times repulsed his horse, and left his foot exposed to the enemy's fire, which obliged them likewise to tetreat. Eugene, seeing this, resolv'd at last to continue the fight with the foot only; tho' the Bavarian cannon, loaded with cartridge shot, carried off whole ranks. It was in a great measure owing to what had passed in the other wing, that this fourth attack was more successful.

successful. Marfin, hearing of Tallard's misfortune, abandon'd the field of battle, while he had yet a good chance of restoring the day, or at least of making an honourable retreat. The Bavarians, for their part, did the latter, and made halt, when it was too late for Prince Eugene to pursue them. His highness then join'd the Duke of Marlborough, and was a witness to his reducing the village of Blenheim, where the 27 whole battalions, and 12 squadrons, surrender'd prisoners of war, at the instance of Blanford their commander, tho' to the regret of all the soldiers, and inferior officers. In fine, as never was battle more bloody, never was victory more compleat. The French had 12,000 kill'd on the spot, above 5000 wounded, and more than 20,000 taken prisoners. The booty was also prodigious. But the allies, however, did not cheaply purchase their honour: for they had 9000 men killed, most of them by the French artillery (which was much superior to theirs) and 4000 wounded.

The confederate generals immediately took possession of Hockstedt, and Prince Lewis abandon'd the siege of Ingolstadt, which he foresaw must soon surrender without blood-shed. Not only that town, but all Bavaria surrender'd not long after, and that fine country was ravaged without mercy by the Imperialists. The Bavarian garrison immediately abandon'd Augsburg, which sent deputies to return thanks for their deliverance. Ulm soon surrender'd to General Thungen; and the detachments of Hussars, that were sent from the main army, cut off great numbers of fugitives in their passage thro' Swabia. Never was seen greater excess, either of joy or consternation, than in the Imperial and French courts after this victory. Leopold erected

ted a pyramid in the place where it was won, with an inscription, in letters of gold, relating all the circumstances of the action. It stood till the Elector of Bavaria was restored to his dominions, in 1713, when his highness erased that monument of his disgrace. The Emperor also complimented the Duke of Marlborough with the dignity of a Prince of the Empire, and wrote to him a letter of thanks by that title.

Landau,  
Treves,  
and Tra-  
erbach  
taken.

It was to the honour of the French, however, that the garison of Landau, under the brave M. de Laubanie, held out after this a siege of 96 days, against Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded under the King of the Romans. Homberg, Treves, and Traerbach, were all reduced in their turns, by different parties of the confederate army. But an attempt of Prince Eugene on Brisac, while he and the Duke of Marlborough lay to cover the siege of Landau, fail'd of success, tho' well concerted, like that of Cremona.

Affairs in  
Italy,

While the allies were reducing the Elector of Bavaria, and beating the French out of the Empire, Lewis XIV omitted nothing to bring back the Duke of Savoy from his new alliance. Marshal Vendôme made all possible efforts for an entire conquest of that Prince's dominions; and the French emissaries at the same time endeavour'd to win over his royal highness by large offers. But the Duke, faithful for once to his engagements, and too wise to put the fate of his country upon the issue of a battle, posted himself at Crescentino with his little army, and provided all his fortresses with good garisons. Vercelli was taken after a siege of thirty-eight days, and Ivrea had the same fate. Verrua, which had already held out three months, was still besieged at the beginning of the year 1705. It made such a vigorous resistance, as  
very



very much weaken'd the French army ; and this long defence secured a part of the Duke's dominions : yet his royal highness, having lost the valley of Aosta, found himself reduced to very great streights, as he had received no reinforcements since those brought him by general Staremberg. The troubles that broke out the preceding year in Hungary, which obliged the Emperor to keep an army on that side, prevented his sending any troops into Italy ; and count Leiningen, the Imperial general, being too weak to resist the grand Prior de Vendôme, (brother to the duke) was obliged to quit all the posts he had in the Mantuan, and retire into the Trentine ; so that he preserv'd nothing material of all Prince Eugene's conquests, except Mirandola. Leiningen indeed return'd some time after into Italy, and took post in the Brescian : but the diversion he gave the French was not considerable enough to relieve the Duke of Savoy, who was in great danger of losing all his estates, while the Emperor lost all his footing in Italy.

I have taken notice, that the Queen of Eng- And in  
land and the States-General, foreseeing the ill Hungary.  
consequences of the Hungarian insurrection, had early offer'd their mediation to restore peace in that kingdom. The two parties met by their deputies at Schemnitz, according to appointment, to compose all differences : but these conferences proceeded rather from a respect to the mediators, than a sincere desire of peace. The Emperor rose in his demands after the victory of Hockstedt, and his deputies took the first opportunity of breaking off the negotiations. The Hungarians had too much flatter'd themselves with recovering their antient liberties, and some ministers at the court of Vienna were still

averse to a treaty, in hopes to enrich themselves by the confiscation of the estates of the Hungarian nobility.

In Spain.

Thus we see, that the affairs of the house of Austria, notwithstanding the wonderful successes on the Danube and the Rhine, were far from being in the best situation, either in Hungary or Italy. I must add, that the presence of King Charles on the frontiers of Spain had not the influence that was commonly expected. The Portuguese, having in a long peace forgot the art of war, were short in their preparations: they march'd, however, towards the latter end of the campaign, into the Spanish territories, and forced the Spaniards to entrench themselves behind a river, where it was impracticable to attack them. The same year the confederate fleet took Gibraltar, and obtain'd an advantage over the Count of Thoulouse, natural son of Lewis XIV, in a sea fight.

In the Netherlands.

As to the Netherlands, the main seat of war having been transfer'd from thence into Germany, nothing material was transacted on that side. The enemy kept so close behind their lines, that the many attempts of general Auverquerque to engage them were to no purpose. The bombardment of Bruges and Namur, and the taking of Fort Isabella, were not sufficient to provoke the Marquis de Bedmar to fight: and when the Elector of Bavaria was arrived at Brussels, and declared his inclination to attack the army of the States, Marshal Villeroy opposed it, and shew'd him a positive order of his master, which forbid to hazard any engagement.

1705.  
Death of  
the Em-  
peror Le-  
opold.

The first operations in 1705 were on the side of Italy, whither the earnest solicitations of Prince Eugene obtain'd a strong reinforcement,

under

under his own command, to be sent in support of his relation. Matters had gone there very badly still; a party of Imperialists had been worsted; Verrua had been obliged to surrender; the Duke of Savoy was forced to decamp from Crescentino, and preparations were even making for the siege of Turin, when Prince Eugene arrived in the Brescian. There he received news of the death of his master, the Emperor Leopold; which obliges us a moment to suspend the history of military operations. That Prince, who died at Vienna the fifth of May, was born the ninth of June, 1640; crown'd King of Hungary June the 27th, 1655, and of Bohemia the 14th of September 1656; and elected Emperor the 18th of July, 1658. He was succeeded by Joseph, King of the Romans, born July the 26th, 1678; crown'd King of Hungary December the 9th, 1687, and elected King of the Romans January the 4th, 1690. Besides Joseph, he left issue the Archduke Charles, then King of Spain, and three Archduchesses.

I have already given some sketches of this Emperor's character: to which let me add, that the long wars he had been obliged to maintain with France, made him hate the French nation to such a degree, that he would not even suffer the tongue to be spoke in his court, tho' he understood it perfectly well, but instead of it used the Italian. He was somewhat short of stature, had a good fresh complexion, a true Austrian lip, and a black beard, which in time of mourning he would wear for six weeks together. His habit was generally Spanish, with scarlet stockings, a feather in his hat, and the order of the Golden Fleece upon his cloke. He always rode out in great state, and admitted



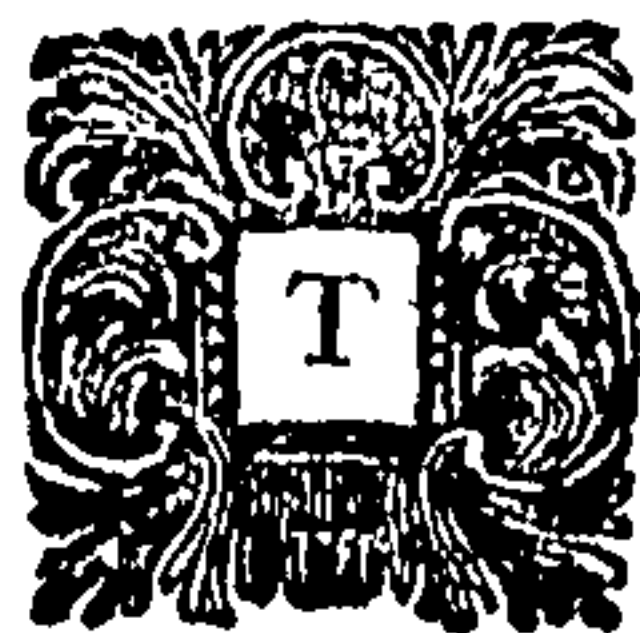
none but sovereign Princes to his table. He was an immoderate lover of music, especially divine; being extremely devout, and an abhorer of all prophaneness and swearing. His soul was naturally great, generous, and humane; but the giving way too much to ministers, whom he trusted implicitly, made him do many things oppressive and cruel, which occasioned him a great deal of uneasiness.



## CHAP. IX.

Reigns of the Emperors JOSEPH, and CHARLES VI, sons of LEOPOLD.

1705.  
Joseph  
firm in the  
alliance.



THE death of Leopold was sincerely lamented, not only by his own subjects, but by all his allies; who apprehended that his successor, JOSEPH, might not have the same dispositions towards the common cause. But the declaration and vigorous proceedings of the new Emperor soon made the confederates easy, who found that the alliance had lost nothing by this change in the head of the Empire. Joseph was, in reality, equally inclined with his father to pull down the power of France, and gave immediate proof of it by remittances into Italy, to Prince Eugene, whose whole thoughts were turn'd upon supporting the distressed Duke of Savoy.

Campaign  
in Italy.

I have mentioned the loss of Villa Franca, Nizza, and Verrua. The latter, surrender'd at last for want of provisions, was a dear purchase to  
the

the French, who paid for a rock, and the ruin of some fortifications, above 20 millions of livres, and sacrificed the lives of more than 12,000 men. The long resistance of that place broke all their measures, and the Duke of Vendôme was not able to besiege Turin, as he intended, before the arrival of Prince Eugene obliged him to march to the defence of the Milanese. Eight thousand Prussians having march'd into Italy, according to a treaty concluded at Berlin by the Duke of Marlborough, and 4000 Palatines being order'd the same way, his serene highness set out for the Imperial army in the Veronese, and attempted to pass the Mincio: but this proving impracticable in sight of the French army, that Prince was obliged to send his infantry over the lake de la Garda to Salo, and the cavalry marched about the said lake by the way of Gavardo. Tho' the Grand Prior of France observed narrowly the motions of the Germans, Eugene proved too vigilant for him, and gained a day's march. By this means he advanced to the banks of the Oglio, passed that river, took Soncino, Palazzuolo, Ponte Oglio, and several other posts; which obliged the Duke of Vendôme to leave the main army in Piedmont, under the command of the Duke de la Feuillade, and march in person to defend the passage of the Adda.

Prince Eugene made several feints to draw the enemy to an engagement, and at last at-<sup>Battle of</sup> tack'd them, the 10th of August, near Cassano. <sup>Cassano.</sup> where, notwithstanding they had the best of the ground, he obtained a considerable advantage. There fell in all about 7800 men, of whom near 5000 were thought to be French; and indeed the victory had been compleat on the side of the Germans, if the Duke de Vendôme had not come up, with fresh troops, during the action.

That Duke was obliged, after this loss, to send for more forces out of Piedmont; whereby the army under M. de la Feuillade, which had taken Chivazzo, was too much weaken'd to undertake the siege of Turin, before which place it lay encamp'd near a month, and had made all the necessary dispositions.

Conclu-  
sion of  
the cam-  
paign.

Lewis XIV flatter'd himself, that he should terrify the Duke of Savoy into a separate treaty: but the the large and regular remittances from England and Holland, and the activity and success of the Imperial army, arm'd him against both their promises and menaces, and kept him firm to the alliance. La Feuillade was obliged to retire towards Casal; from whence he march'd to retake Asti, which the French had abandon'd by mistake, and from which he was obliged to retreat with great loss. Mean time Prince Eugene, seeing the season so far advanced, that the enemy could make no farther attempt against Turin, repass'd the Oglio, and returned towards Gavar-do: of which Vendôme taking the advantage, he marched to Castiglione de la Stivere, to secure the Mantuan. The affairs of the allies, however, had still a tolerable aspect in Italy.

Successes  
in Portu-  
gal and  
Spain.

On the side of Portugal their forces were less fortunate. They only took Salvaterra and Marvan, and wrested from the enemy Valencia d'Alcantara, and Albuquerque. Had not the Earl of Galway had the misfortune to have his right hand shot off by a cannon ball, before Badajox, that place too, in all likelihood, would have been taken. But if their success on that side fell short of expectation, the taking of Barcelona, and the reducing of the whole province of Catalonia under the obedience of King Charles, exceeded their hopes. The French and Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, which the English and Hessians  
had



had taken the year before : but marshal de Tessé, who commanded the besiegers, had the mortification to rise from before the place, after having seen the flower of his army perish in that enterprize. The admiral of Castile was on the side of King Charles, which greatly forwarded his affairs. The allies were also successful at sea, which, tho' neither the Emperor nor his brother contributed any thing towards it, was for the advantage of their cause and family.

The Imperial and French armies on the Upper Rhine having been in fight several times, <sup>the Rhine.</sup> and drawn up in battalia, it was expected there would have happened an action : but marshal Villars having had advice of the approach of 10 battalions, and 20 squadrons, of the troops of the King of Prussia, to reinforce the army of Prince Lewis of Baden, that general thought fit, the 15th of December in the night, to decamp in great secrecy, and retire towards Strasburg. Prince Lewis, being reinforced by those troops, likewise decamp'd the next day from Daudorp, and came to Wierschiem. The same day 9 squadrons and 9 battalions, with a detachment of grenadiers, under the command of Count de Frise, was order'd to besiege Drusenheim. The trenches were open'd the 19th, and the place was attack'd with so much vigour, that the garison, consisting of 3 or 4000 men, surrender'd the 24th prisoners of war. Haguenau was invested 4 days after, by a strong detachment under general Thungen, consisting of the infantry of the Kings of Prussia and Poland, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, with 20 squadrons of cavalry. The garison made but a short resistance ; for they beat a parley the 5th of October, and offer'd to surrender the place upon terms. No conditions, however, would be allow'd them, except

except to become prisoners of war: which made them resolve to quit the town in the night, and retire towards Savern. Haguenau not being invested on that side, they had an opportunity to do it: but the prudence and care of the Germans, who little suspected such a resolution, were not to be commended.

On the  
Moselle  
and the  
Maese.

In the Netherlands little was done worthy of notice. Though the defeat of the French at Blenheim, the taking of Landau, Treves, Trarbach, and several other posts on the Moselle, were such real advantages, as gave just cause to hope, that the following campaign would be attended even with greater successes; yet the event did not prove answerable to expectation: for Lewis XIV found means to repair his losses, and brought such vast armies into the field, that, instead of obtaining a series of victories, and penetrating thro' Lorrain into the heart of France, the Duke of Marlborough, after waiting a long time on the Moselle, without being able to bring the enemy to an engagement, was obliged to decamp and return to the Maese, where he was again disappointed of a battle by the opposite councils of the States Deputies. When he returned, however, victory returned with him. Liege, which the French were besieging, was relieved; Huy was taken; and the army of France, which had pressed that of the States-general with superior numbers, retired behind entrenchments which they deem'd impregnable. The Duke forced these entrenchments, with inconsiderable loss; defeated a part of their army, which defended them, and forced the rest to retreat with precipitation. If advantages proportionable to this success were not immediately obtain'd, the failure should be ascribed to that misfortune, which attends most confederacies,  
division

division of opinions. It was enough for the Duke, that people wonder'd how he had done so much, under such restraints as hinder'd him from doing more.

There had been an insurrection in Bavaria, which at the end of the preceding year was deliver'd up to the Emperor, occasioned by the oppressions of Count Lewenstein, the Imperial governor : but the Count was enabled to put a stop to it by force of arms ; the Bavarians were entirely subdued ; many of their nobility were executed, and the whole country was miserably pillaged. In Hungary, however, Joseph had not the same success. He had made proposals to Prince Ragotzi, which were rejected. He afterwards released the consort of that Prince, who had been confined in a nunnery, and sent her to negotiate matters with her husband : but the Princess, tho' she pretended to wish for an accommodation, was so far from persuading Ragotzi to accept the conditions she brought, that she exhorted him to continue the war with more vigour than ever. Mean while the conferences went on between the two parties, tho' neither would recede from any of its pretensions. Ragotzi insisted on the independant sovereignty of Transilvania, which Joseph maintain'd to be a fief of the Hungarian crown, offering to erect the country of Burgow into a principality, in favour of Ragotzi, if he would give up the other claim. The consequence of this disagreement was a continuance of the war : the malcontents made incursions to the very gates of Gratz ; won a battle of general Heister, who lost his life in the action ; and made great progress in Hungary. The allies were greatly concerned at the ill success of their mediation, which gave advantage to the common enemy.

Prince



1706.  
Prepara-  
tions for  
the cam-  
paign.

Prince Eugene left no stone unturn'd, in order the next year to support effectually the Duke of Savoy : but the mischief was at Vienna, that funds were wanting for any new undertaking. Eugene found a remedy for this inconvenience, by persuading the Emperor to mortgage his mines in Silesia to the English, and persuading the English to accept of this security, for a loan of 250,000 l sterling. The money was presently raised, and the Duke of Marlborough came to Vienna, to solicit, in conjunction with Eugene, the speedy application of it in support of the Duke of Savoy. They were so successful, that 10,000 auxiliary Hessians, and 4 or 5000 Palatines, were ordered to reinforce the army in Italy. To these were added the troops of Saxe Gotha, and a part of the Imperialists out of Bavaria. The Prussians, that were in Italy before, were also recruited. On the other hand, the French King tried all his efforts to push on the war with the utmost vigor. He raised 30 new regiments, and so augmented his old corps, that his whole force consisted of near 300,000 men, exclusive of sailors and marines. His design was to use the Duke of Savoy as the Emperor had used the Elector of Bavaria, and at the same time not to slacken the operations on other sides. Turin was already in a manner block'd up by la Feuillade, and a prodigious quantity of provisions were got together in Piedmont.

Bad state  
of affairs  
in Italy.

Vendôme, early in the spring, and before the arrival of the reinforcements, found means to surprise the Imperial army at Calcinato, under Count Reventlau, and give it a total defeat. They had 3000 men killed ; lost 26 colours, 12 standards, and the greatest part of their baggage. This was a fresh discouragement to Prince Eugene,

Eugene, who met part of the flying army at Roveredo. In the mean time Turin was actually besieged, tho' the French court had already receiv'd news of their disgraces at Ramillies and Barcelona : for all the preparations for that siege being made, they thought it impossible that Prince Eugene should ever attempt to relieve it ; and the taking of that capital, they reasonably enough concluded, would be attended with the entire reduction of Piedmont, which would make amends for their other losses. Marshal Vendôme, after the victory at Calcinato, so well secured the passages of the Adige by lines and entrenchments, that he boasted that river would be the *Nè plus ultra* of the Imperialists. The Duke of Savoy, who had left the defence of Turin to Count Thaurin, encamped with the rest of his forces in the plain of Lucerna, in order to embrace an opportunity which he almost despair'd of meeting, that of joining Prince Eugene.

But all these difficulties did not dishearten Eugene's that gallant warrior, who, being supplied with money from England, and reinforced by the Palatines and Saxe-Gothans, did not stay for the Hessians coming up, but pass'd the Adige by a glorious stratagem, and afterwards the canal Bianco, the Tartaro, the Po, the Secchia, and other rivers ; gained two days march of Vendôme ; arrived in Piedmont without opposition, and join'd his royal highness. In the mean time Vendôme was recall'd, to command in Flanders, and the conduct of the siege and main army was left to the Duke of Orleans and Marshal Marfin. This was of some advantage to the allies, the French having no other general equal to Vendôme. Eugene came up with them between the Dora and the Stura ;

attacked

The  
booty.

attacked their entrenchments, and obtained a compleat victory, before the troops on the other side of the Po, which made the gros of the army, could come to action. But they too fled like the rest, and left the Imperial general the honour, with 30,000 men only, to defeat 80,000. He and the Duke enter'd Turin the same day in triumph, where there was scarce powder enough left to give them a salute. The French had 1800 men kill'd, and the allies near as many. The latter took 6000 prisoners, 110 pieces of large artillery, about 50 field pieces, 5600 bombs, above 15,000 grenades, 48,000 cannon balls, 5000 chests of musket bullets, 86,000 barrels of powder of a hundred weight each, a prodigious quantity of implements and provisions for a camp, all their tents, 10,000 horses, 5000 mules, and 2000 oxen ; also all the equipages of the generals, amongst which was a large quantity of plate, and four pictures of the King of France set with diamonds, and valued at 4000 pistoles. Marfin was mortally wounded in the action, and died the next day. The French were forced again over the Alps, after this enormous expence, without baggage or ammunition. Besides Turin's being relieved, all the places taken from the Duke of Savoy in Piedmont were recover'd ; the passes of the valley of Aosta secured ; the whole duchy of Milan, except a few castles, reduced to the obedience of the house of Austria ; the Prince of Vaudemont and Count Medavi (tho' the latter, the day after the battle of Turin, had routed the Hessians under their hereditary Prince) were forced to retire under the cannon of Mantua ; and the French interest was sunk for ever in Italy. In short, never was action more talked of than this, nor attended with greater consequences.

I just



I just mention'd the siege of Barcelona, which Barcelona was this year the first object of the French arms. Resolved to make an extraordinary effort, and to act every where offensively, their fleet was in a readiness to put to sea by the latter end of February. Philip V, slighting the Portuguese, left the frontiers of Spain, on the side of Portugal, naked, and with all his forces moved towards Catalonia, to attack the capital. The measures were so well concerted, that the great admiral of France, with a large fleet, was to arrive before that place at the same time that the army of King Philip, and another from Roussillon, should invest it by land. Had these measures taken effect, beyond dispute, humanly speaking, Barcelona had been taken, and King Charles made prisoner therein; the succours from England and Holland not being ready in time: but in this critical moment, providence seemingly interposed, and sent such a storm, as dispers'd the French fleet, and retarded the siege a full month; which gave time for the allies to come up with their squadrons, and relieve the place. The French fleet ran into Toulon upon their approach, and King Philip was obliged, the 12th of May, just at the time of a great eclipse, to raise the siege, which he had carried on ever since the third of April. That Prince, having lost a considerable number of men before the place, left all his cannon, ammunition, sick, and wounded, in his camp. His return to Madrid by the way of Arragon being cut off by the miquelets, and the troops the Earl of Peterborough had brought from Valencia, he took his rout through France and Navarre.

While the siege of Barcelona was carrying on, the confederate army in Portugal enter'd the field. Having taken Alcantara, they advanced to Placentia, and even as far as the bridge of Al-  
Progress of the allies in Spain.  
meras,

meras, in the way to Toledo and Madrid, driving before them the Duke of Berwick, who had but a handful of men : but a false rumour of the taking of Barcelona being spread by the French emissaries, the Portuguese did not think fit to proceed any farther ; and from thence marched back to Ciudad Rodrigo, which they took without any resistance. They were then inform'd that the siege of Barcelona was rais'd; whereupon they marched to Salamanca, and from thence directly to Madrid, where they arriv'd the 24th of June, and caused King Charles to be proclaimed King of Spain the 3d of July, to the general satisfaction of the people. All the world did then believe that Spain was recover'd to the house of Austria.

Which  
King  
Charles  
render'd  
ineffec-  
tual.

It had been so but for the indolence of King Charles, who, to his great discredit, did not arrive at Madrid, by the direct road, time enough to prevent his rival Philip, whose passage was much longer and more difficult. Whatever the reason of this negligence was, the enemy soon grew superior upon it, and the Austrian Prince, being arrived at Guadalaxara, was obliged to retire into Valencia. He was even so closely pursued by the French and Spaniards, that the retreat of the confederate army was inglorious to the generals, who had the direction of it. The confederate fleet, in the mean time, reduced Carthage, Yvica, and Majorca, to the obedience of King Charles. But the hopes of a general revolution in Spain were frustrated, when the allies thought it infallible. Madrid, Segovia, and other places, return'd to the obedience of the French ; and the Portuguese army being in Valencia, King Philip had the opportunity to retake Placentia, Alcantara, and other places on that side.

The armies did not take the field so soon in Campaign the Netherlands, and it was the middle of May in Flan- before they encamped, the French in the neigh- ders. bourhood of Louvain, and the allies near Tongeren. The French had in their army the flower of all their forces. They knew that the Lunenburgers and Hessians were on the Rhine, and the Prussians at a great distance : they had also some assurances given them, that the Danes could not join the allies so soon as they did ; and being besides encouraged by the advantage the Duke of Vendôme had obtained at Calcinato, they resolved to attack the allies, before all their troops were come together. In order thereto, they drain'd all their garisons, and, confiding in their superiority, marched toward Judoigne, with a design to give them battle.

Being inform'd of their motions, the Duke of Marlborough held a council of war with the deputies of the states and general Auverquerque ; wherein it was resolv'd to march directly to the enemy. The consequence of this was the memorable battle of Ramillies, which happen'd on the 23d of May. This action did not last a great while : for, in the space of two hours, the whole French army was put to flight, with such rout and confusion that can scarce be parallel'd. It was hardly known that the confederates had taken the field, when the noise of this victory was heard all over Europe. The French had about 8000 men kill'd, and 6000 taken prisoners. The famous household troops, which had been boasted of as impenetrable, were here totally defeated and ruined. At their flight the whole army followed, leaving their baggage, colours, and cannon behind them. The Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroi narrowly escaped being taken. They were pursued without any loss of time, T which



which made it impossible for them to rally; and the vigour and conduct, with which the Duke of Marlborough improved this success, were equal to those with which he gained it. Louvain, Brussels, Malines, Liere, Ghent, Oudenarde, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray, immediately surrender'd. Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth were soon taken. Ostend, which had formerly held out a siege of three years, was now reduced in eight days. In a word, all Brabant and Flanders became subject to King Charles. The confusion of the French was so great, that they could not entirely rally till they came within their ancient lines, between the Scheld and the Lys. It was there that the Duke of Vendôme came up with them, Villeroi, at his own request, being removed from the command.

Vendôme  
avoids a  
second  
battle.

Vendôme being arrived, found a great army again ready to act; for they had received detachments from the Rhine, to the number of 52 battalions and 60 squadrons. But the French general, unwilling to risk the glory he had gain'd in Italy, contented himself to make lines and entrenchments, and was an eye-witness to the taking of Menin and Aeth, without the least motion to relieve those places.

Campaign  
on the  
Rhine.

As to what passed on the Rhine, the French King having resolv'd to invade the Empire, and penetrate once more into Bavaria, Marshal Villars attacked the lines of Drusenheim the latter end of April; forced them; took Drusenheim and Haguenau a few days after; raised the blockade of fort Lewis, and would, in all likelihood, have accomplished his ends, if the defeat at Ramillies had not obliged the court to draw off almost all his forces to the Netherlands. That general, being so weaken'd, could do nothing offensively: yet as the Germans were also weak,

he

he stop'd their progress, and they had much ado to assemble an army sufficient to venture over the Rhine, to throw supplies into Landau. The army of the empire, which should have been 120,000 strong, hardly made 10,000 effective men. It was very happy for the Emperor, that the slowness and weakness of his efforts here were made up every where else by the victories of the allies.

But it was at the same time a great misfortune, Affairs of Hungary, &c. that the peace of Hungary, which was so near a conclusion, met with the same obstacles that stood formerly in its way. The malcontents demanded a great deal, and the court of Vienna would grant nothing ; which baffled the care and application of the English and Dutch ministers, who resided there to mediate the long-wish'd for accommodation. On the contrary, a treaty of peace, signed at Rastadt, by which Augustus resigned the crown of Poland to his rival King Stanislaus, put an end to an obstinate war that had long distracted that kingdom. But the neighbourhood of the King of Sweden in Saxony, whose sentiments were not known, with regard to the powers in alliance, was an alarming consideration to them all, especially the Emperor.

The French having entirely evacuated Italy, 1707. except a few garisons, Joseph order'd possession Milan taken possession of in the name of his brother Charles : and Prince Lewis of Baden dying at the beginning of the year 1707, name of his Imperial majesty would have had Prince Eugene take upon him the command of the army Charles on the Rhine. Eugene, however, was unwilling that any other should have the honour of restoring peace in the country he had just conquer'd, and refused the commission in such manner, that the Emperor did not think fit to renew the offer.

The castle of Milan held out the longest for the two crowns; but was at last surrender'd, and the Prince was left governor-general of the duchy without a competitor.

Resolu-  
tion of the  
Emperor  
Joseph.

It was a maxim of the Emperor, and approved of by his highness, that the neutral provinces, which no otherwise suffered by the war, ought to pay those arrears to the troops, for which the finances at Vienna were insufficient. The Ferrarese and Bolognese, provinces of the holy see, paid pretty largely towards these contributions. The Pope complained in high terms; but was mistaken when he imagined that Joseph would be thus wrought on. That Emperor, tho' liberal and grateful, was also resolute and vindictive; and was thus revenged on Clement XI, for acknowledging the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain. His Imperial majesty likewise (what his father durst not attempt) had put the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria to the ban of the Empire; torn the draught of their diplomas; set a price on the head of the latter; brought his sons prisoners into Stiria; reduced them to the order of plain counts; and disposed of most of the Bavarian estates. There was a great outcry raised on this occasion, which had no effect on Joseph, who continued immovable.

France  
makes  
proposals  
of peace,  
which are  
rejected.

France, being shaken by the many blows we have mention'd, and some intestine convulsions occasion'd by the want of money, thought necessary to offer conditions of peace, and made use of the Elector of Bavaria to propose some conferences to the Duke of Marlborough, and the deputies of the States: but the Queen and their high mightinesses, knowing by experience the artifices of the French, refused to treat; and, to prevent the ill reports that might be raised



raised of clandestine negotiations, they caused the letters of the Elector, and the answers of the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States, to be communicated to all the ministers of the allies at the Hague.

The hands of the allies being at liberty on the side of Piedmont, they had now an opportunity, which never offered before, during this war, of making their enemy's country feel the calamities of it. They form'd the project of invading Provence, in order to take or destroy Toulon and Marseilles; which blow, to the maritime power of France, would have been of infinite advantage to England and Holland, by securing and enlarging their trade: but the court of Vienna, upon views of private advantage, laid the design of reducing the kingdom of Naples; which, as it tended to divide the confederate army in Italy, clash'd with the other, and was therefore warmly opposed by Queen Anne and the States-General. Their representations having proved ineffectual, Count Thaun, with a small body of Imperialists, march'd into the kingdom of Naples, and, being seconded by the affections of the people, whom cardinal Grimani had before-hand prepared to shake off the French yoke, made an entire conquest of that country, first by the surrender of the capital city, then of Capua and Pescara, and at last by storming the important fortress of Gaeta.

The other expedition, tho' as well concerted, and as little either foreseen or provided against by the enemy, yet did not meet with equal success. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, by their marches and counter-marches, as if they intended to turn their arms against Dauphiné or Savoy, conceal'd their true design against Pro-

Naples reduced to the house of Austria.

The expedition to Toulon.

vence, and then on a sudden, assembling all their forces, pass'd the Col de Tende, and, by the assistance of the confederate fleet, under admiral Shovel, forced the entrenchments on the Var, and crossed that river. They marched towards Toulon with all that speed, which the want of magazines, the heats of the climate, and other difficulties in an enemy's country, would allow : but, to their surprize, they found that the French had recovered their first mistake, and, with unparallel'd diligence and activity, repaired the fortifications of the place ; posted forty battalions either in the town, or on the adjacent hills of difficult access, and defended them, besides, by strong entrenchments. I shall not enter into the particulars of the siege, which cost the allies a great deal of blood and treasure, without being able to carry their point. They made, however, an orderly retreat, and took Suza before the end of the year, which shut up that inlet into Piedmont. This expedition struck such a terror throughout France, as had never been known during the long reign of Lewis XIV. Several other advantages accrued from this expedition : as, the doing great damage to the French shipping ; the burning of near one half of the houses in Toulon, and committing numerous devastations in Provence. It also gave a great diversion to the enemy's forces ; whereby their army in Germany was weaken'd ; the Duke of Orleans's progress, after the battle of Almanza, retarded in Spain ; the succouring of Naples prevented ; and the conquests of the allies in Italy secured.

Loss of  
the battle  
of Alman-  
za.

Having mentioned the battle of Almanza, it naturally leads us to speak of the great reverse of affairs in Spain. Such a prodigious series of success had attended the confederate arms, that it

it was the general opinion, that the King of France would never be able to retrieve so many, and such great misfortunes, and that he would soon be obliged to wave his grandson's pretensions to that kingdom, to obtain peace. This appear'd most sensibly in Spain, where the fatal missing of the fairest opportunity that could offer, to secure the whole kingdom after King Philip's retreat from Madrid, was the primary cause of the advantages he gain'd the next campaign ; and King Charles's weakening the army in Valencia, occasion'd the loss of the battle of Almanza. The confederate generals, confiding in the courage and ardor of their soldiers, resolved to attack the Duke of Berwick, tho' already stronger than they, before the arrival of the reinforcements under the Duke of Orleans. The Earl of Galway commanded, and made such good dispositions, that, had the Portuguese sustain'd the efforts of the English and Dutch, in all probability he had succeeded. But the contrary happen'd : the allies were defeated, and more than 4000 were made prisoners of war. Alcira and Xativa were surrender'd in consequence of this action, and the whole kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon were reduced. Only Catalonia, the city of Alicant, and the town of Denia, remained to King Charles. Lerida was taken by the Duke of Orleans, because the Portuguese did not, as expected, make a diversion on that side.

In the Netherlands, the necessity of securing Campaign the conquests made the preceding year, hinder'd in the Ne- the Duke of Marlborough from extending them : therlands. so that nothing of great consequence pass'd on that side. For the French, notwithstanding their loss at Ramillies, had so well recruited their army, as to be still superior to the allies ; and as  
T 4
they



they yet carefully avoided an engagement, his grace, to his great regret, found it impossible to come at them in their strong camps, tho' he made more than one fair offer at it.

Upon the  
Rhine.

The Empire, whose united and well-managed strength might alone suffice to cope with France, fell once more this year into those misfortunes, occasion'd by the slowness and negligence of some of its members. The complaints and representations that had been made to the Emperor, and the diet at Ratisbon, on the part of Great-Britain and Holland, while Prince Lewis of Baden was yet alive, were as ineffectual when the Margrave of Bareith took on him the command of the army on the Upper Rhine ; which was so inconsiderable in number, and so ill provided, as not to be able to withstand a sudden irruption of the enemy.

Affairs of  
Hungary.

Hungary continued, as for several years before, the seat of hostilities. The frontiers on both sides were ravaged : but, tho' the malcontents declared the throne vacant, yet nobody put in for that crown. Prince Ragotzi himself declined it, being contented with the principality of Transilvania, of which he took possession with great solemnity. The Imperialists, however, recover'd that country.

And of  
the King  
of Poland.

Augustus having acknowledged his competitor, and made a formal resignation of his own right to the crown of Poland ; the King of Sweden reap'd all the fruit he could wish or expect from the treaty of Alt-Ramstadt. He staid in Saxony about a year ; very much strengthened his army ; raised the attention of all the Princes and States in Europe, and drew to himself several grand deputations and embassies. The great Duke of Marlborough, among the rest, waited on him from the Queen  
of

of Great-Britain, and obtain'd a private audience, in which he dived into the sentiments of that monarch. Besides these solemn compliments, and the subsisting his forces at free cost, his Swedish majesty's stay in Saxony procured him an opportunity of concluding a treaty with the Emperor, whereby he obliged his Imperial majesty to restore the Protestants in Silesia to the free exercise of their religion, conformably to the treaties of Westphalia : a transaction that added not a little to the King of Sweden's reputation, in all Protestant countries. Joseph was under such apprehensions of the designs of this Northern hero, that he could deny nothing he demanded, and told the Pope's nuncio, who blamed him for making such concessions, that *it was well the King of Sweden did not insist on his turning Protestant.* After this Charles left the electorate of Saxony, and took up winter quarters in Poland.

The Emperor had this year a severe fit of illness, which, as he had no male issue, alarmed the Princes of the Empire : but hopes were conceived of continuing the Austrian family by the marriage of his brother, King Charles, to Elizabeth-Christina Princess of Brunswick-Blankenburg. Joseph ill, and his brother marries.

It being apprehended, from their many successes in 1707, that the French would once more gain the ascendant, there was thought no better way to prevent it than by associating together those two great generals, Eugene and Marlborough, in the Netherlands, that the arms of France might be sufficiently employ'd in that quarter. Mean while Lewis XIV, finding the forces of Great Britain an invincible obstacle to his designs, resolved, if possible, to transfer the seat of war partly into that kingdom, by sending 1708. An attempt on Scotland,

ing the Pretender to invade Scotland. If we may believe his own words, he had always that design in view, but never before found any favourable conjuncture to put it in execution. He now notified the expedition to all the neutral courts in Europe, with an air of confidence, as if he was sure it could not miscarry. And so forward and vigilant was he in his preparations, that even before the beginning of the spring, the British nation was suddenly alarm'd with threats of an invasion. But such right measures were taken by the allies on the continent, and such vigilance was used by the British admiralty, that Sir John Leake sail'd for the Mediterranean; and Sir George Byng, with another fleet, having put to sea earlier than the French expected, and being favour'd by the wind, the Pretender's design was totally defeated. It must be own'd, however, that this enterprize was well timed, most of the Scots being disgusted at the union, and the English having but little strength in that country.

Campaign  
in Italy.

The campaign began late in Italy, by reason of the bad weather: but in a very short time the Duke of Savoy conquer'd Exilles and Fenestrelles, two keys of the Alps; which it would have been impossible to take, if that Prince had not made the French believe he intended to march into Savoy. This obliged them to send their forces that way, and afforded his royal highness an opportunity to make a sudden counter-march, and secure such posts, as were absolutely necessary for covering the two sieges.

In Spain  
and Por-  
gal.

In Spain the Duke of Orleans, having assembled his forces near Lerida, formed the siege of Tortosa, and soon reduc'd it; tho' he had the mortification to be somewhat interrupted by Sir John Leake, who took a great number of Tartanes laden with provisions. But count Staremberg,



berg, being reinforc'd by some troops from Italy, cover'd the rest of Catalonia, while the Prince of Darmstadt defended it on the side of Roussillon; insomuch that, after a long campaign, the Duke of Orleans was oblig'd to repass the Segra, not being able to take up his winter quarters in Catalonia, nor to hinder King Charles from making detachments to assist the confederate fleet in the reduction of Sardinia and Minorca, which was effected with a success that exceeded expectation. The town and castle of Denia, which made the year before a noble defence, were oblig'd to surrender to King Philip; and the allies quitted the town of Alicant, and retired into the castle. The campaign in Portugal produced nothing that deserves to be remember'd, except that the Spaniards abandon'd Serpa and Moura.

When Prince Eugene was destined for the Netherlands, it was also resolv'd, that most of the Rhine. Imperial troops, with the Saxons and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain and Holland, and a body the Elector Palatine was to furnish, in consideration of the cession of the Upper Palatinate, should march and join the English and Dutch under the Duke of Marlborough. The Elector of Hanover, who commanded this year on the Rhine, consented, in an interview which he had with Eugene and Marlborough, to this diminution of his army, in favour of the common cause, and only kept on the defensive with a few indifferent troops, ill paid and ill provided. Yet he not only disappointed the Elector of Bavaria, in his design of penetrating into Germany, but hinder'd him from making any detachments, to reinforce the Duke of Burgundy and Marshal Vendôme in the Netherlands.

The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, on that side, were prevail'd upon early in the spring to submit to the bat-  
The bat-  
side of Oudenarde.

submit to the French. Vendôme expected a reinforcement from Alfatia, and Marlborough waited for the coming up of Eugene with the army of the Empire, when the English general resolved to give battle. Eugene left his men to follow, and joined the Duke in person, that he might not lose the opportunity of being in the action. As these generals acted with great unanimity, they, by a wonderful swift march, gained the camp of Lessines, and then, with continued vigilance, passed the Dender and the Schelde. Near Oudenarde they met the enemy, who thought to have surpris'd that place in their retreat towards their lines, before the confederates could give them any disturbance. It not a little perplex'd them when the allies appear'd, Vendôme being for avoiding, and the young Duke of Burgundy for hazarding an engagement. They had the advantage of the ground, if not superiority of number, and the Duke of Burgundy's party at last prevail'd. The battle of Oudenadre was fought on the 11th of July, and ended in a total rout of the French infantry; few of the horse, on either side, having an opportunity to engage. The allies remained master of the field, with 6 or 700 French officers, and about 5000 private men. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme retreated, with the broken remains of their army, and entrenched behind the canal between Ghent and Bruges: and the victorious generals, after the necessary preparations, went and sat down before Lisle, at that time the best fortified place in Europe. Eugene had the direction of the siege, and Marlborough, with the main army, lay to cover it, and watch the motions of the enemy.

The siege  
of Lisle.

This siege, the most considerable one in the whole war, continued for the town, from the

13th of August, when, it was first invested, the 23d of October; and for the citadel, from thence to the 9th of December. Marshal Boufflers commanded the garison, which alone amounted to a moderate army; and Vendôme, being reinforced from all the neighbouring towns, had an army superior to the allies, now all their forces were join'd. He had a desire, at any rate, to raise the siege, and several times drew up his army as if he resolved to attempt it: but these were all false alarms, and had no other effect than to cause short interruptions of the operations on the town. Mean time the allies were in great want of ammunition, all their supplies from Brussels being obstructed, and the passages cut off. It surpris'd the French when the Duke of Marlborough, by sending detachments to take post at Oudenburg and Lessinghen, opened a new communication by the way of Ostend. In defence of a convoy by this way, Web, an English major-general, with only 8000 foot, repuls'd count de la Motte at Win-  
Action at  
Winden-  
dael.  
endael, with an army of 22,000, and enabled the allies to continue the siege. Marshal Vendôme, indeed, afterwards took Lessinghen, and cut off this communication: but it was too late, for the town had already surrender'd, and there was not so much as a cannon fired against the citadel, the whole business there being carried on by sapping. Nor did the siege of Brussels, undertaken by the Elector of Bavaria, now return'd from the Rhine, any other service to the French than to give a short alarm: for the confederate generals, by marching to relieve that capital, again open'd a free passage with it, which occasion'd Boufflers to surrender by capitulation. Soon after, Ghent, Bruges, and the other places in Flanders that had fallen to the French, were recover'd to the house of Austria.



**Affairs of Hungary.** The Hungarian malcontents, led by Ragotzi and Berzini, were this year defeated by general Heister, with great loss. The Imperialists gave out, that there was 6000 of them kill'd, and 50 of their standards or colours taken. This happened while a diet was sitting at Presburg, in order to accommodate matters: but that diet being composed only of the Emperor's friends, Ragotzi, tho' invited to it under a safe conduct, believing there could be no freedom of deliberation, not only refused to go himself, but issued a proclamation, forbidding any Hungarians to repair thither, under pain of being treated as enemies of their country. What he and his party now wanted, was not that Joseph should renounce the crown, but only the hereditary title to it, and leave Hungary, as his father found it, an elective kingdom; that the office of Ban should be restor'd; and that all preferments, civil and ecclesiastical, should be confer'd on natives; with some other particulars of less moment. To these the court of Vienna did not consent, as they thought them an infringement of the sovereign power; and for this reason, two successive Emperors, Leopold and Joseph, neglected their part in a business of more importance, undertaken solely for the benefit of their house, (the recovery of the Spanish monarchy from the house of Bourbon) to make war upon their own subjects, who only contended for their ancient and indubitable rights and privileges.

1709.  
Ineffectual negotiations.

In the winter after these successes of the allies, negotiations were set on foot by the French, and Lewis XIV seem'd in earnest to be touched with the miseries he had brought on his people. He sent the president Rouillé, the sieur Voisin, and the marquis de Torcy into Holland, in quality of his ministers plenipotentiary. They had several

veral conferences with the deputies of the States, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough. The allies would abate nothing of what they had fought for, but insisted upon the entire restitution of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and the surrender of several fortresses and territories to the other confederate powers : but, reduced as France was by eight years calamity, her monarch, notwithstanding his pretences, rejected these conditions with scorn, and all parties made preparations for another campaign. The army of France, in the Netherlands only, amounted to 110,000 men, and that of the allies, before it was reduced by sieges, and detachments for garisons, was not less numerous.

Portugal was the first scene of action this year, Campaign an engagement happening there while the con- in Portu- ferences were yet on foot at the Hague. That gal. climate allowing the armies to take field sooner than in the northern parts, the Portuguese troops assembled about the middle of April, near Estremos, while the Spaniards drew together about Badajox. The Portuguese advanced towards the enemy, and, being superior to them, resolved to attack them. If they got the victory, the generals consider'd, it might be attended with the conquest of Spain ; and if they lost it, their enemies were not in a condition to prosecute their advantage. On the 7th of May they came to a battle, in which the Portuguese cavalry, being for the most part newly raised, ran away, without so much as charging or being charged, leaving their infantry exposed. These, however, made so brave a defence, that they retir'd in sight of the enemy ; whole loss was at least equal to that of the Portuguese. The Marquis de Bay, King Philip's general, blocked up Olivenza :  
but

but was obliged to raise the blockade, and to send his troops into quarters of refreshment, without having gained an inch of ground. In the autumn campaign, indeed, he threaten'd to enter Portugal, and probably had done it, if the arrival of General Stanhope with three regiments at Gibraltar had not given a jealousy, and drawn the best part of the Spanish troops to the side of Andalusia, to watch the motions of the English.

In Catalo-  
nia.

Catalonia was not this year distinguished by any remarkable action. It was however glorious to the allies, that, considering the streights King Charles was reduced to, they, with a handful of men, preserved that province against two powerful armies, and obtained besides several advantages; particularly by seizing Balaguer, and obliging the enemy to quit some territories between the Cinca and the Segra, of which they had been possessed ever since the taking of Lerida. When the news of the loss of Balaguer came to Madrid, King Philip was so much concern'd at it, that he took post for the army, giving out, that he would go and attack the allies. He arrived in his army, advanc'd, and saw his enemies: but, taking his leave of count Staremberg, return'd post with the same precipitation to Madrid, giving room for a great deal of ridicule upon his expedition.

In Pied-  
mont and  
Savoy.

In Piedmont, the success of the campaign came very short of the hopes the allies had conceived, upon the taking of Exilles and Fenestrelles the year before. The Imperial court had started some difficulties about the Vigevenasco, and other dependencies of the Milanese, yielded by Joseph to his royal highness, and insisted to have them adjusted by commissaries. Victor insisted on the words of the treaty between him and the Emperor, and would not refer to nego-  
tiation



tiation what was fully express'd. England and the States-general interpos'd, but without effect: and tho' the Piedmontese forces, with the other allies, took the field, the Duke refused to head them, but left that command to count Thaur. The count, late in the summer, forced a passage over the Alps, defeated a considerable detachment of French, and advanced into the duchy of Savoy as far as the Rhone, striking a very great consternation among the neighbouring provinces of France: yet he could not pass that river, nor find an opportunity to attack the Duke of Berwick, posted in an almost inaccessible camp near Montmellian; and at last was obliged to return into Piedmont and the Milanese, having found it impossible to maintain his troops in Savoy during the winter. This had been projected, that the army might be at hand to attack France the next campaign at the same time, and in concert with the other armies of the allies in Germany and Flanders.

Not all the exhortations of the allies, made to Upon the the diet of the Empire, could quicken the reso- Rhine. lution of its members. Their forces again came late into the field, and not more numerous than the preceding summer. However, the Elector of Hanover, being prevail'd on for the good of the common cause, repair'd to the army on the Upper Rhine as soon as it was in a condition to act, and resolved to execute a project, which some accident had disappointed the year before. Having passed the Rhine, he marched directly to the lines of the enemy, and made a feint to attack them, while count Mercy was detached towards the Black-forest with a body of horse, with orders to pass the Rhine at the Forest-towns, march thro' the territories of Basel, and take post on the French side of the river. Mean  
U time

time general Weykersheim, with a body of foot and some artillery, marched to lay a bridge at Newenburg, and the Elector was to come up and join him. These orders were so well executed, that the bridge was finished, and that army encamped as had been directed. This so alarm'd the enemy, that count Du Bourg was sent with a detachment to oppose count Merci, whom he defeated while the Elector was advancing to support him : and thus the design that had been form'd, of penetrating into the Franche Comté, was again disappointed, and the campaign on that side concluded without any other remarkable action.

In the  
Nether-  
lands.

I now come to the Netherlands, the scene of great actions ; where, as soon the conferences were broke off, the confederate forces, under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, marched towards Lisle, and from thence towards the French army, which lay posted, under marshal Villars, between Doway and the Lys, in an almost inaccessible camp, covered by defiles, morasses, canals, and entrenchments. The heavy artillery was sent at the same from Ghent up the Lys to Menin, which made the French believe that the allies intended to besiege Ypres. They provided it therefore with a numerous garison, while they left Tournay somewhat neglected. The confederate generals, seeing the impossibility of attacking the enemy in their entrenchments, and that the garison of Tournay was weak, caused that place to be suddenly invested. Marshal Villars, sensible of his mistake, detached a large body, with orders to get into that town. They found it impossible ; the detachment was defeated ; Tournay besieged in form, and the town surrender'd the 29th of July. The citadel, being all undermin'd, held out till the  
third

third of September, when the garison surren-  
der'd prisoners of war. This was a bloody siege  
to the allies, who decamped however immedi-  
ately, marched towards Mons, passed the  
Haifne, forced the enemy to abandon their  
lines along the Trouille, and invested that city.  
This obliged marshal Villars to make a motion  
with his army, which he reinforced with de-  
tachments of all the French garisons in Flan-  
ders. He then encamped in a most advan-  
tageous ground, from Quievrain to Malplaquet  
and Surhon, being covered by the woods of  
Dour, Sart, Sanfart, and Blaregnies. These  
they fortified in such a manner, that there was  
no coming at them without forcing the several  
entrenchments, for the most part palisadoed,  
and defended with a hundred pieces of cannon.

Their camp, in a word, was like a citadel ; and  
yet, on the 11th of September, the allies at-  
tacked them under all these disadvantages. Af-  
ter an obstinate fight, they at last forced their  
entrenchments, took part of their artillery, and  
pursued them to the defile of Bavay, making  
great slaughter. It is computed, that not less  
than 20,000 men fell this day in the fight and  
pursuit ; of whom, considering the difficulty of  
their enterprize, no wonder the greatest part was  
on the side of the victors. Marshal Boufflers,  
who joined Villars before the battle, affirm'd  
that all the infantry of the allies was ruin'd, and  
that they should not gain the least advantage  
by their wining the field : but they, to evince  
the contrary, opened trenches before Mons the  
25th of September. On the 20th of October, the  
garison beat a parley ; surrender'd the place upon  
articles the same day, and marched out the 23d,  
neither Boufflers nor Villars giving the besiegers  
the least interruption. Thus ended the campaign.



Joseph  
brings the  
Pope to  
submis-  
sion.

Another affair, that made no small noise, happened the same year, and had some effect on what passed afterwards in other parts. Clement XI had shewn a partiality for the house of Bourbon, which the Emperor resented, and, resolving to do himself justice, ordered his troops to seize Comacchio, and some other places, under pretence that they were fiefs of the Empire. This was in 1708; and the campaign for that year being ended in Piedmont, Count Thaurin marched his army into the Bolognese and Ferrarese, threatening to advance directly to Rome. The Pontiff, exasperated to the last degree, immediately gave commissions for augmenting his forces, and proposed a league with France between him and several States of Italy. Marshal Tessé came ambassador from Lewis XIV to his holiness, and was design'd to be generalissimo of the confederates: but France being unable to assist them, either with money or troops; the Imperialists being almost at the gates of Rome, and the confederate fleet in the Mediterranean, ready to bombard any place that should declare for the common enemy; the Pope thought fit to lay aside his warlike designs, and hearken to proposals made him by the marquis de Prie, on the part of the house of Austria; insomuch, that a treaty was concluded between that Prince and cardinal Paulucci, whereby Clement promised to acknowledge Charles III King of Spain, and to reduce his troops to their former number. This accommodation gave so much disgust to the courts of Versailles and Madrid, that their ministers were recalled from Rome, and the Pope's nuncio was commanded to depart Spain by King Philip, who besides took several resolutions prejudicial to the holy see. Mean while, the Pope found

means

means to delay the recognition of King Charles, and the congregation appointed to examine that affair would never agree to it : but when he saw the campaign in Piedmont again ended, and the Imperial troops returning, he wrote a letter to Charles as King of Spain, and acknowledged his title in a public consistory, by allowing his nomination to the see of Solzona in Catalonia. Tho' Clement did this with a restriction, that it was without prejudice to the other possessor, Philip V, likewise Catholic King of Spain ; it was yet a great point gained in favour of the house of Austria, as it convinced the superstitious Spaniards, that they might with a safe conscience submit to King Charles, tho' they had sworn fealty to King Philip.

In Hungary the year 1709 began with another defeat of 4000 malcontents, not far from Alba-Regalis ; which, with several other small unsuccessful encounters, very much impair'd the circumstances of those unfortunate people. The Emperor's diet at Presburg, which was sitting the last year, broke up the beginning of this, without having done any thing of what they met about. Another diet of the same sort met in May, when Joseph gave an answer to the articles demanded of him in the preceding ; promised to observe the charter granted at his inauguration ; consented, that in case of the failure of male issue from the Emperor Leopold, they should proceed to a new election ; refused to recal all forfeitures, but promised to redress such in particular as could shew themselves injured ; insisted, that children should lose their estates for their fathers treason, but not brethren or wives ; claim'd to himself all lands recover'd from the Turks, unless the claimants could defray part of the charge of recovery ; would not consent

to the removal of the Germans out of Hungary, nor that Hungarians alone should be nominated to church benefices; pronounced all who had taken up arms, traitors, unless they would submit within a month; with several other particulars, which were rejected by Prince Ragotzi, and his adherents. In short, all hopes of accommodation vanish'd; which so enraged the Emperor, that he gave Prince Ragotzi's estate to Prince Lamberg, that of Count Forgatz to Count Wratislaus, and so of the rest. He then set forth another proclamation, full of promises and threats, which had no more effect than the former. So far from it, that one colonel Otskai having abandon'd the malcontents, and gone over to the Emperor, and being taken by a party of the Prince's, he was condemned as a traitor, and beheaded: in revenge for which the Imperialists, on their side, put to death some Hungarian prisoners they had taken.

Battle of  
Pultowa.

The same year was fought the famous battle of Pultowa, in which the Swedes, under King Charles XII, suffered an entire defeat from the Muscovites, led by their Czar Peter. The consequence of this was the King of Sweden's flight into Turkey, where he remained some years, and the resumption of the crown of Poland by King Augustus. This turn of affairs was not at all unfavourable to the Emperor, nor to the grand alliance.

1710.  
An ineffectual  
congress.

At the request of France fresh conferences were held during the winter, at the town of Gertruydenburg, between two of the States deputies, appointed by all the confederacy, and two French plenipotentiaries. But the entire surrender of the Spanish monarchy to King Charles, and an engagement that France should assist the allies to dispossess her own grandson,

were



were still articles too hard of digestion for Lewis XIV, exhausted as he found his finances, and discontented his people. His ambassadors complain'd of ill usage, in that such high terms were insisted on, and return'd home without having effected any thing. Preparations were on both sides renewed even during the congress.

Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Campaign having taken the field, soon made a considerable progress in Flanders. They entered the French lines, and took the strong and important towns of Doway, Bethune, St Venant, and Aire; by which they streightened the enemy exceedingly for winter quarters, and made their approaches much nearer to Old France. Doway made a long and obstinate defence; Bethune held out near a month; Aire, which was besieged at the same time as St Venant, cost about eight weeks, and the other only a fortnight.

On the Rhine, as usual, nothing happened material this year. The French, who in the winter had threatened the Empire with a fresh invasion, were obliged to weaken their forces on that side, to cover their own frontiers, and strengthen their armies in the Netherlands; and the Germans, thro' their wonted ill management, were not in a condition to improve that fair opportunity of invading France: so that the armies remained inactive on both sides. George Elector of Hanover, weary'd with disappointment in the two preceding years, absolutely declined the command in this; and the French held themselves content with destroying the forage, and raising contributions in the country near Landau.

The Duke of Savoy, still dissatisfied with the Imperial court, prevented the operations on the side of Piedmont from being more considerable

than those in Germany. An indisposition, either pretended or real, still hinder'd him from taking the field, when all disputes were, in appearance, accommodated.

Success of  
the allies  
in Spain.

It was in Spain that happen'd the most memorable events of the year 1710. The inconstancy of the fortune of war, and the instability of human prosperity, appeared there in a most surprising manner, both parties being conquerors and conquered by turns. At the opening of the campaign the affairs of King Charles had but an indifferent prospect. The arrival of the reinforcements he expected from Italy were retarded by the difficulties that always attend great embarkations, and his competitor was in a condition to take the field before him, make himself master of two castles, and raise contributions in Catalonia. But general Stanhope being at last arrived with the recruits, and a great sum of money, the army assembled near Balaguer, and marched to meet the French. A descent being made in the mean time, by some English troops, proved a great diversion, and kept the Duke of Noailles from joining King Philip's army, while Charles was reinforced. This opened the way to two victories, which happened soon after, called the victories of Almenara and Saragossa. In the first of these, the French and Spaniards lost upwards of 1500 men, with several standards, kettle-drums, and cannon. In the last they were entirely defeated, and left behind them 3000 slain upon the spot, with 5 or 6000 prisoners: besides which, the confederates took 72 colours, 22 pieces of cannon, and part of the enemy's baggage. They also took possession of Saragossa, which received the victor King with loud acclamations. This was followed by the march of the conquerors

to Madrid, which general Stanhope entered with a detachment of the army, and proclaim'd Charles III there a second time, who visited that capital soon after in person.

A council being call'd in the French court, <sup>A reverse of fortune.</sup> upon this unexpected turn of affairs in Spain, the Duke of Vendôme was dispatch'd immediately to put himself at the head of the shatter'd troops, which he was to recruit from the southern provinces of France. He soon augmented it to 14,000 men, and march'd to prevent the junction of the Portuguese with the other confederates, which he effected by securing the bridge of Almaraz. All this while King Charles was busy in fortifying Toledo, as if he intended to winter in Castile, and open a communication into Valencia. But troops arriving from all parts to reinforce King Philip, this scheme was found impracticable, and King Charles was obliged again to seek his own security in Catalonia, where the Duke de Noailles was besieging Girona, to make a diversion.

These considerations induced the confederate army to decamp from Villaverde, within a league of Madrid, and march backwards towards Arragon: but King Charles had not been many days in Barcelona, before he receiv'd more mortifying news than that of the siege of Girona: for general Stanhope, having marched at a distance from the Germans, and the other allies, with the English, for the convenience of their better subsistence, was taken prisoner at Brihegua, with his whole body of officers and soldiers, consisting of eight battalions, and as many squadrons. And general Staremberg, with the rest of the army, that came up but an hour or two too late to their assistance, was defeated in such a manner at Villa Viciosa, where a bloody and obstinate battle



battle was fought, that he was forced to abandon all his conquests in Arragon ; to quit Balaguer, which open'd him a passage into it, and to retire to Barcelona, with near 11,000 horse and foot ; after he had heard, in his way thither, that the Duke de Noailles had taken Girona.

Affairs of  
Hungary.

In Hungary the year 1710 began unfortunately with the malcontents, and nothing from this time prosper'd with them. Count Rabutin (a French nobleman, who served in Germany upon the condition of never being employed against his country, and from a private captain was advanced to be one of the generals of the Empire, and governor of Transilvania) went on successfully against them ; and general Lessen-holtz obliged the garison of Lietschau, a strong post, to surrender ; 1300 men, that were it, lifting themselves into the Emperor's service. This was followed by a greater blow : for in September the Imperialists recover'd the important town of Neuhausel ; in November they surpris'd Agria, and blocked up the castle ; and in December took Esperies, with very little opposition.

1711.  
A pacifi-  
cation  
there.

Count Caroli, one of the heads of the malcontents, daunted by these misfortunes, made some overtures about the begining of the year 1711 to Count Palfi, the chief of the Emperor's party in Hungary. Palfi sent them to Vienna, whence the sieur Locker was dispatch'd to the army, to treat with the malcontents. They came to an agreement, without the participation of Prince Ragotzi, by which the Emperor granted a general amnesty, with some exceptions in a few particulars relating to the Prince ; permitted the use of arms to the nobility, under certain restrictions ; promised to maintain the regulations with regard to religion, and to preserve the  
rights,

rights, immunities, and liberties of the kingdom of Hungary, &c. Pursuant to which articles, the troops of the malcontents took the oath of fidelity, deliver'd up 149 colours and standards, and were disbanded, some of them returning to their homes, and others lifting themselves into the Imperial troops. The fortified places were all deliver'd up: and thus ended the troubles of Hungary, after they had continued nine years.

It was the 29th of April before these articles were signed. The Emperor Joseph died on the 17th, of the small pox, after there were good hopes of his recovery. His loss was attributed to the want either of skill or care in his physicians. If the Hungarians had heard the news, in all probability they would have defer'd the signature of the treaty, at least till the election of an Emperor was over: but luckily for the court of Vienna, the affair was long enough kept a secret at Zatmar, or possibly, considering the distance of the place, might be all that time in the passage.

Joseph, at the time of death, was in the 33d year of his age. I shall have occasion to speak of his children, when I come to give an account of the claims arising on the Austrian dominions upon the death of the Emperor Charles. As to his character, it may be in a great measure gather'd from what has been related in the course of his history. His answer to the papal nuncio, upon the King of Sweden's demand for the Protestants in Silesia, and his invasion of the Pontif's dominions to make him acknowledge his brother for King of Spain, are proofs, that he was less a bigot than most of his predecessors, or even than his successor. That he had courage and resolution is not to be doubted: but that, with regard to the Hungarians, he was either too fond himself

himself of arbitrary power, or, like his father, suffer'd himself to be too much determined by the council of Vienna, the members of which pursued their private advantage in the ruin of that antient nobility, can hardly be disputed by those who may be most inclined to speak in his favour.

Prince Eugene, whom we may now look upon as the soul of the Empire, was upon the road to the Netherlands, when the news of his master's decease overtook him at Nuremburg. It struck a consternation not only into him, but into all the members of the grand alliance. The system of Europe was' entirely alter'd, if his brother should succeed him, and the house of Austria, with the Spanish dominions added to it, might become as formidable as that of Bourbon.

King  
Charles  
elected  
Emperor.

It was particularly given out in England, by the new ministry, that the object of the war being changed, it was high time to think of giving peace to Europe. However, as the election of King Charles to the Imperial crown was not yet certain, the war was continued on all sides. Lewis XIV, for his part, thought again of embarrassing the Empire, by sending the Elector of Bavaria into the heart of it, where it was believ'd he had many friends. For this purpose the army in Flanders was weaken'd, where marshal Villars thought his lines impenetrable, and draughts were made from the garisons on the Maese and the Moselle: but the vigilance and activity of Prince Eugene, at the head of the Austrian and Palatine troops, and under the direction of the Elector of Mentz, now vicar-general of the Empire, prevented the execution of this project, and kept peace in Germany till the election was over. According to the wish of the confederates, it fell, on the 12th of October, upon King Charles, when he was unanimously, by all the Electors present,



present, declared Emperor by the name of CHARLES VI. That Prince, having given the necessary instructions for the regency of Catalonia, which he left to his Queen, set out from thence the 27th of September, arrived at Genoa the very day of his election, made his public entry into Frankfort the 19th of December, and was crown'd the 22d.

It might be said that Prince Eugene did much this year on the Rhine, by preventing the designs of the French, though he had not been able to attempt any thing against that common enemy. He put his troops therefore into winter quarters, when he saw his new master on the throne, who confirmed him in all his employments.

The campaign in the Netherlands ended with the siege of Bouchain, which the Duke of Marlborough took, after having forced those boasted lines of Marshal Villars. That general was an eye-witness of this whole transaction, and durst not stir to relieve the place; but somewhat protracted the siege by throwing in supplies. This was the Duke of Marlborough's last campaign.

As the Duke of Savoy, by the mediation of the Queen of Great-Britain, had got satisfaction from the late Emperor in the investiture of the duchy of Monferrat, he took the field early, and penetrated thro' Savoy as far as the Rhone: but being stoped by the Duke of Berwick at Fort Barreaux, where he lay posted in an inaccessible camp, his royal highness was forced to repass the Alps without invading the French territories. This expedition, however, prevented the sending any reinforcements to marshal Vendôme in Catalonia, who only took there three castles, when he had threatened to reduce

reduce the whole province. Nor were the operations much more considerable on the side of Portugal, where the allies, after hopes of making great advances in the territories of the enemy, were put to the task of defending the frontiers of that kingdom.

1712.  
Affairs of  
Hungary.

Charles, upon the death of his brother, had been declared King of Hungary, pursuant to an act of the States made at Presburg. In April, 1712, he repaired to that capital, where he was met by the nobility, and crown'd on the 22d of that month, with the usual solemnity. After this, all gave way before him on that side. Prince Ragotzi, abandon'd by Count Caroli and his adherents, would not indeed accept of the mean capitulation offered him: but being no longer in a capacity to resist, he fled thro' Poland to Dantzick; from thence came by sea to Hull in England, and from Hull went to France, where he was honourably received, and appeared with a very magnificent equipage. There happened nothing more remarkable in Hungary during the three following years, 1713, 1714, and 1715, and therefore I shall have no occasion to mention that kingdom again till 1716, when a new war broke out between the Emperor and the Porte.

In the Ne-  
therlands.

In the Netherlands, after the taking of Quefnoy (the Duke of Ormond, at the head of the English, having abandon'd the allies, and proclaim'd a cessation of arms) fortune, for the first time during this whole war, began to change sides, and go over to the French. Marshal Villars entirely ruin'd a large body of the confederate troops, who lay posted at Denain, under the Earl of Albemarle. This obliged Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Laudrecies, at a time when Lewis XIV trembled for that place,

place, which opened a way into the heart of France. After this the French took Marchiennes, where they found a prodigious booty, retook Mortagne, St Amand, Fort Scarpe, Doway, Queſnoy, and Bouchain, making in all, from the battle and the ſeveral garifons, about 16,000 priſoners of war. This ill ſucceſs induced the Dutch to agree likewise to a ceſſation of arms ; as did, about the ſame time, the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal.

Theſe Princes had done little during the ſum-  
mer : for tho' the troops in Piedmont took the  
field, they and the enemy never came within  
ſight of each other ; and in Portugal the chief  
tranſaction was the ſiege of Campo Major by  
the French and Spaniards, who were at laſt ne-  
ceſſitated to abandon their enterpriſe. Much  
the ſame ſucceſs had Count Staremberg in Cata-  
lonia, where he blockaded Girona a long while  
to no purpoſe, and was then obliged to put  
himſelf entirely on the deſenſive, becauſe of the  
neutrality of the Engliſh troops, who had re-  
ceived the ſame orders as in Flanders, and went  
to take poſſeſſion of Minorca.

It is well known that the following winter  
produced the peace of Utrecht, which was ſign'd  
on the 11th of April between France on the  
one part, and all the allies, except the Emperor  
and the Empire, on the other. Charles, un-  
willing yet to forego his right, and knowing  
that the ſeat of war muſt now be transfer'd to  
the Rhine only, reſolved alone to try another  
campaign, and therefore proteſted, by Count  
Zinzendorf his plenipotentiary, againſt what  
had been tranſacted. Both parties again took  
the field, the French under marſhal Villars, and  
the Imperialiſts under Prince Eugene.

But



Campaign  
on the  
Rhine.

But his Imperial majesty soon found, that he was not alone a match for the French King, tho' that monarch had been ten years engaged in an unsuccessful war. The army of Villars was superior to that of Eugene, who could not prevent its sitting down before Landau, and making the garison prisoners of war on the 20th of August. The Prince, notwithstanding the importance of Landau, did not think fit to hazard a battle, which, if unsuccessful, might have laid the whole Empire open to France, in order to preserve it. Villars's next expedition was against Friburg, by taking of which the Elector of Bavaria hoped to find a passage back to his dominions : but there was no occasion to attempt this by the sword, for Friburg having surrendered, the Emperor thought proper to enter into negotiations of peace. These were opened at Rastadt, a palace built by Prince Lewis of Baden, the two generals having full powers from their respective courts.

1714.  
Treaty of  
Rastadt.

At last, on the 23d of February, the treaty was concluded and signed. It stipulated, that the French should restore to the Emperor Old Brisac and Friburg, the forts of St Peter and the Star, and all the other forts in the Black Forest ; also the Brisgau, with Fort Kehl and Fort Pile. Other forts upon the Rhine, near Strasburg, were to be demolished, and the navigation of that river to be free to the inhabitants on both sides. The Emperor was to enjoy the Spanish Netherlands, as had been agreed in the treaty of Utrecht, except Namur, Charleroi, Menin, Tournay, Furnes, Fort Knock, Dixmuyd, Ypres, and some other places, which were granted to the Dutch for a barrier. The King of Prussia was confirmed in Upper Gelderland, in lieu of his pretensions to the principality

pality of Orange, which was incorporated for ever to the crown of France.

This year the French and Spanish troops, under the Duke of Berwick, laid siege to Barcelona on the 12th of July. The brave inhabitants, who expected to be supported in their enterprize, held out till the 12th of September, the very monks and women dying in the breach before they would surrender. But they were abandon'd both by the English, on whose fleet they relied, and by the Prince they acknowledged, who did not so much as make terms for them in the peace of Rastadt, tho' they had been neglected at Utrecht. In a word, they were left to the mercy of an exasperated victor, who treated them as rebels. The fate of the people was greatly pitied, and the conduct both of the Emperor, and the British ministry, very much censured on this occasion.

On the 26th of November, the same year, 1715. the Turks declared war against the Venetians, Charles in violation of their truce with that republic. <sup>Charles</sup> <sup>confederates with</sup> Their view was, in some measure, to make up <sup>the Venetians against the</sup> to themselves what they had ceded to the Emperor by the treaty of Carlowitz. At the same time they sent an Aga to Vienna, to divert the Imperial court from taking part in this new quarrel. That minister, however, did not succeed. Charles thought himself justified in breaking with them, by their own example, and therefore entered into a confederacy with the Venetians for their mutual defence. Nothing, however, was undertaken by the Imperialists in 1715, and the Turks were suffered to penetrate into the Morea, take Napoli di Romania, and over-run the whole country, before the republic could bring together an army. The Turks urged the justice of what they had done, because

because the Venetians had taken it from them in the years 1686 and 1687, while they were at war with the Emperor Leopold, by an equal violation of treaty. Christian Princes seldom give so good reasons for breach of contract.

The barrier treaty.

I must not omit, among the transactions of this year, the conclusion of the barrier treaty, between the Emperor, George King of Great-Britain, and the States-General. By this treaty that good harmony was restored, which had been somewhat interrupted since the peace of Utrecht. It was sign'd at Antwerp, November 15 ; after which the government of the Austrian Netherlands was resign'd, by the maritime powers, to Count Koningseg, the Emperor's plenipotentiary.

1716.  
Battle of  
Peter-  
Waradin.

Prince Eugene was appointed to command the armies in Hungary, and never were greater preparations made than on this occasion. Charles had peace on every other side, and therefore was able to send the larger body against the Mahometans, tho' far inferior to theirs. His general met the Grand Vizir near Peter-Waradin (a town in Rascia, upon the Danube) in the month of August, and brought him to an engagement. The Imperialists were victorious : they slew 8000 Turks on the field of battle ; took their cannon, baggage, tents, and ammunition ; also their military chest, with five millions of florins coin'd ; the Grand Vizir's pavilion, with jewels and treasure to the value of 300,000 florins more ; and 200 of his women, all between the age of 14 and 26. The artillery taken consisted of 164 pieces, and the colours and standards of 150.

Consequences of it.

In consequence of this defeat the Turks raised the siege of Corfu, the capital of the island of that name, belonging to the Venetians in the Adriatic.

Eugene



Eugene pursued his advantage on the frontiers of Turkey; besieged Temeswar, a place strong both by nature and art, and at last carried it. This town cost him a great many men: but then the purchase was very considerable; for all the Walachians submitted to the Emperor, and the Mahometans abandoned a great number of lesser posts. The Emperor had this year a fleet on the Danube, which rode master of that river.

All was ready early the next spring, and Prince Eugene took the field in May, at the head of <sup>1717.</sup> 100,000 men. The Turks had this year, as <sup>Siege of</sup> Belgrade. the last, at least 150,000, and as good troops as ever they marched into the field. A new Vizir, superior much to the former both in valour and prudence, had the command of them. They had put Belgrade in such a condition, that it seemed almost impregnable: yet did the Prince set down before it, under cover of the fire from the fleet, which won this year a victory over the Turkish saicks and gallies. His lines of circumvallation were the wonder of all who saw them. In these the Turk besieged him with his whole army: so that the Germans lay between two fires, that of the garison, amounting to 30,000 men, and that from the Vizir's camp. The Imperial court was in the utmost consternation, and all Europe attended to an event, on which perhaps the fate of all Hungary and Transylvania might depend.

After the siege had been carried on two months, the Vizir resolved to hazard a battle, in <sup>A battle</sup> before it. order to relieve that important place. Straiten'd by the ground, he could not form a line of more extent than Prince Eugene's, which was of great advantage to his highness. The battle, however, was for some time doubtful, occasion'd by

the separation of the Germans right wing from the center of the army : but, after five hours, victory began to declare, and the Infidels abandon'd the field with great precipitation. They had 10,000 men kill'd on the spot, 3000 in the flight, 5000 wounded, and about the same number made prisoners. The booty they left consisted of 131 brass cannon, 30 mortars, 52 colours, 9 horse-tails, with balls, bombs, powder, and bullets in proportion ; also great numbers of camels, and an incredible quantity of riches. The Imperialists had above 2000 men kill'd, and 4000 wounded, of whom many died the next day.

The  
town, &c.  
taken.

Eugene, after his victory, summoned the Bashaw of the town to surrender : which, upon the mutiny of his soldiers, he was obliged to submit to, and obtained honourable conditions, he and his garison being conducted to Nissa. No sooner were the Germans masters of Belgrade, but the Turks abandon'd Ram, Semendria, Meadia, Sabatz, Orsova, and several other places. They made so good a defence, however, at Zwolnick in Bosnia, that general Petrasch was obliged to raise the siege of that place. Six hundred and twenty-five cannon, and 104 mortars, were taken in this whole campaign.

1718.  
Peace of  
Passarowitz.

The maritime powers now interposed, at the request of the Sultan, and put an end to the operations of war. A treaty was concluded under their auspices, at Passarowitz, on the 21st of July following, whereby' it was provided, that all parties should remain in possession of what they had acquired. This left to the Emperor a vast extent of new territories on the side of Walachia and Servia, while the Venetians were obliged to rest contented with a few towns on their frontiers, in lieu of that fine peninsula the  
Morea

Morea. The Emperor at first made higher demands, and such as the Sultan absolutely rejected; so that the war, at the beginning of 1718, was like to be renewed with as much ardor as ever, and both armies actually took the field: but his Imperial majesty thought fit to make some abatements, upon the surprising efforts made by Spain, under the ministry of cardinal Alberoni, for recovering of Naples and Sicily.

It had indeed appear'd the preceding year, <sup>Differences be-</sup> that the treaties of Utrecht and Baden had not <sup>tween the</sup> procured a solid and durable peace. Tho' the <sup>Emperor</sup> Emperor had evacuated Catalonia, with the <sup>and Spain.</sup> islands of Majorca and Yvica, and the King of Spain had consented to a cessation of arms in Italy and the adjacent isles; yet the former would not renounce his pretensions to the whole Spanish monarchy, nor the other give up the provinces dismember'd from it in Italy and the Netherlands. Under pretence of assisting the Venetians, whom they had feebly succour'd in 1716, a large fleet, with 9000 land forces on board, sailed from Barcelona in July 1717, commanded by the marquis de Lede, and landing at Caliglari in Sardinia, made a speedy reduction of that island, which belong'd to the Emperor, and was but weakly defended. As very poor pretences were made by Spain for this extraordinary procedure, the King of Great Britain, the Regent of France, the Duke of Savoy, and the States-general, enter'd into the quadruple alliance, to make good the partition of the Spanish dominions. Philip, who had consented at first to a suspension of arms, not content with their giving Sicily to the Emperor, and Sardinia, then possessed by him, to the Duke of Savoy in lieu of it, made more formidable preparations



this year, and induced the King of Great Britain to fit out a strong squadron under Sir George Byng, to observe that of his Catholic majesty, which set sail for Sicily.

Sea-fight  
between  
the Eng-  
lish and  
the Spa-  
niards.

When admiral Byng arrived on the coast of Sicily, he found the Spaniards in possession of part of the island, and persisting in making themselves masters of the whole. He came up with their fleet off of Syracuse, on the east-coast of the island, engaged them, and that day, and the next, took twelve of their line of battle ships, and burn'd three. He also took one ship freighted with arms, three laden with provisions, besides burning two fire ships, two bomb vessels, and one fettee.

1719.  
Messina  
reduc'd,  
&c.

Still the progress made by the Spaniards in Sicily alarm'd the Duke of Savoy, who had no security for the stipulated equivalent. This made the Emperor engage with him, to assist in the reconquering of Sardinia ; a project that never took place, nor was found necessary. Instead of that, his Imperial majesty, by the help of the British fleet, transported an army into Sicily, and reduced the town and citadel of Messina. The French, in the mean time, invaded Spain by land ; took Port-passage, and burnt six men of war upon the stocks, almost finished ; reduced Fontarabia, St Sebastians, and the whole province of Guipuscoa. These transactions brought King Philip to reason, and negotiations were set on foot.

1720.  
A general  
peace.

On the 25th of April, 1720, a convention was enter'd into for a suspension of arms, and for the evacuation of Italy by the Spaniards. It was signed by the Imperial and Spanish generals, under the influence of the British admiral, who, the day following, procured another convention for the evacuation of Sicily, which he had it in his power

power to reduce. The articles of both were punctually executed, and the next year, 1721, Sicily was surrender'd to the Emperor, and the Duke of Savoy, as King of Sardinia, took possession of that island. By the treaty concluded this year all former treaties were confirmed; the King of Spain acknowledged the Emperor, and the Emperor gave up his claims, reserving however the bare title of King of Spain, which he was to use in common with King Philip.

His Imperial majesty being now in peace, and having no male issue, he summon'd a diet of the general States of Hungary, in June 1722, where-<sup>1722.</sup> in he procured the crown of that kingdom, in case he died without a son, to be settled on his eldest daughter, and her descendants. This was a very great point carried with that people.

Charles likewise, in imitation of his neighbours, and being now possessed of ports, began to turn his thoughts on commerce. He erected this year a company of merchants at Ostend, to trade to the East and West-Indies, and the coast of Africa: but the Dutch presented memorials to him, intimating, that it was contrary to treaties, and reproaching him with the ingratitude of this procedure, when they had done him so many signal services, at the expence of their blood and treasure. They had indeed some reason to complain; which could not be said for the court of London (whatever it might for the British nation) between which and that of Vienna there began to be some secret misunderstandings, on account of the Emperor's not readily complying with what had been demanded of him, concerning the investiture of a new acquisition to the Electorate of Hanover, and the forwarding some more important designs on a much larger part of Lower Saxony. Perhaps Charles might never

have thought of improving his revenue in this way, if he had not imagined himself first affronted by an Elector of the Empire : nor was he so resolute in the undertaking, but that he laid it aside some years after, upon *proper remonstrances*.

Charles  
crown'd  
King of  
Bohemia.

On the 25th of August, the same year, his Imperial majesty was crowned King of Bohemia, and on the 28th his Empress was crown'd Queen. These two solemnities were in compliance with an antient custom in that kingdom, according to which a King and a Queen-confort are never crown'd on the same day.

1723.  
A con-  
gress de-  
sign'd.

There were some points, circumstances, and incidents, in order to perfect the peace between the Emperor and Spain, that remain'd to be settled in a congress, under the mediation of Great Britain and France, then in strict alliance. With a view to this congress, there seem'd to be a strict amity between their Imperial and Britannic majesties ; tho' there is reason to think, it *seem'd* only, and that the latent causes of dissatisfaction, regarding the electoral dominions, still remain'd. How else shall we account for what immediately after follow'd, when the house of Austria was openly libel'd, and a breach of friendship at least follow'd between the two courts, without any apparent injury done to the British nation ; tho' pretences, thinly disguised, were artfully and industriously enough propagated ?

1724.  
The con-  
gress of  
Cambray  
open'd.

The congress was open'd at Cambray in January, 1724. The first things determin'd were, that the Emperor should grant the investiture of the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the Infant Don Carlos, eldest son to the King of Spain by his present Queen ; and that the artillery which the Spaniards took away, upon their evacuating Sardinia, should be re-  
stored



stored to the King of that island. Besides this, nothing of any consequence was there transacted.

His Imperial majesty having determin'd to give the government of the Austrian Netherlands to the Archduchess, his eldest sister, Prince Eugene, who had that post, was, in lieu of it, constituted Vicar-general of the Austrian dominions in Italy; as high a post as the Emperor could advance him to: for the vice-roys of Naples and Sicily, the governor of the Milanese, and all other Imperial officers and generals, receive their orders from him, and pay as entire an obedience to them as to those of the Emperor himself.

In 1725 the congress of Cambray still continued, but to much the same purpose as before. Lewis XV, being betroth'd to an Infanta of Spain, and not liking the bargain that had been made for him, sent that Princess home in a manner not the most polite: which so affronted the Spanish court, that the sole mediation of the congress was offer'd to the crown of Great Britain. No sufficient cause appear'd for the refusal of it, unless we were to look for it in Germany, and place it to the account of the difference between the Emperor and the Elector of Hanover. The effect of it however was manifest enough. The Emperor threw himself into the arms of Spain by a separate treaty, concluded at Vienna, without the knowledge of the mediators; confirm'd to King Philip, all the Spanish dominions in his possession; to the Duke of Savoy, the kingdom of Sardinia; and to Don Carlos, the duchies above specified, at the demise of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Philip, in return, renounc'd all pretensions to Italy, Savoy, Flanders, or any other place in the Emperor's possession. And upon this private transaction, innocent enough.

1725.  
Treaty of  
Vienna.

Prince  
Eugene  
made  
vicar-general in  
Italy.

enough in itself, and agreeable to what had been before stipulated, the congress of Cambray broke up. The same year his Imperial majesty enter'd into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Russia and Poland.

The treaty of Hanover.

Something still was not right, which the British nation were not to be fully let into. It was necessary, for reasons known to a *few*, that the Emperor should be distress'd, and loud complaints were made of the exorbitant power of the house of Austria. We were told here, that there was another private treaty, besides the printed one, by which the Pretender was to be set on the British throne, and many other things, alarming to every British Protestant, were to be done. Upon this pretence was formed the treaty of Hanover, as a counter-mine to that of Vienna, between Great-Britain, France, and Prussia. The three crowns were mutually to defend all their respective dominions, even by hostilities, if it could not otherwise be done, in their trade and privileges. Nothing ever appear'd of the private treaty ; but some point was supposed to be carried, and the Emperor's power, and his engagements with Spain, put the British nation to no small expence.

1726.  
The Emperor prohibits English goods.

Those who were not over-credulous, and had no terrible apprehensions of a new-invented power, were not surpris'd to see the Emperor, the next year, prohibit the importation of English manufactures into his dominions ; and likewise the importation of any East-India goods, except on the bottom of his own subjects in the Netherlands. As things were represented indeed, it was not unnatural to accuse his Imperial majesty of ingratitude : but as they were received by the most discerning, it was not doubted but he

he had received some affront, tho' not given by the British nation.

The conclusion of the treaty of Hanover was immediately followed with a considerable augmentation of the British land-forces at home, besides 12,000 Hessians, and other foreign troops, retained in the British pay. At the same time, three large squadrons of ships were fitted out, at a vast expence. And all this to prevent the dangerous designs of their Imperial and Catholic majesties; designs which the former solemnly disavow'd, by his minister Mr Palm at London. This confirmed what had been before suspected, that Charles was not yet over flexible to the favourite demands concerning Lower Saxony, which made it be resolved to humble the house of Austria. In a word, the exorbitant power of that house, which had received no additions for some years past, was as loudly cry'd out against as that of Bourbon had been at the begining of the century. The Hanover alliance, a fleet sent to the coasts of Spain, and another to the West-Indies, tho' both were quite inactive, provok'd the Spaniards soon after to besiege Gibraltar, the restoration of which they insisted on, in consequence of a promise.

The memorial presented by Mr Palm, the Imperial minister, at the British court, drew on him an order to depart that kingdom, and every thing seemed to have a tendency towards an open rupture between the courts of London and Vienna. His Imperial majesty published a commissorial decree, greatly reflecting on the conduct of Great-Britain and France; ordered the British ministers, in return, to quit his hereditary dominions; set on foot great armaments; used all his efforts with the Princes

1726.

A design to humble the house of Austria.

1727.

Symptoms of a rupture between the Emperor and England.

and



and States of the Empire, to draw them over to his party ; and redoubled his friendship and union with Spain. But, notwithstanding these mutual piques and animosities, it soon afterwards appeared, that a war was like to be 'prevented by mediation. A congress was agreed on, to be held at Soissons, and preliminaries were sign'd the 31st of May, 1727, by which hostilities were to cease, and the Ostend company to be suspended, for seven years.

1728.  
Odd situa-  
tion of af-  
fairs.

When the congress of Soissons was opened, in April 1728, the cardinal de Fleury appear'd there as the mediator of Europe, and seem'd to discover a partiality towards the King of Great-Britain, as Elector of Hanover, which was not relished by the Emperor. But this congress, after being suspended and again continued, did not settle any thing of importance. Spain indeed, thro' the importunity of France, began to detach itself from the Emperor, which made the court of Vienna very uneasy. In the mean time military preparations were continued ; and the public expences, especially in Great-Britain, ran as high as in time of actual war.

1729.  
The trea-  
ty of Se-  
ville.

Spain was at last entirely brought over from the Emperor, by the treaty of Seville, sign'd in November 1729, between the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain. The most material article in this treaty that affected his Imperial majesty, was concerning the garisons in Italy, to secure to Don Carlos the eventual succession of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia. By former stipulations, these were to consist of neutral troops, to the number of 6000 : but it was now agreed, that these 6000 men should be Spaniards, and their introduction was to be effected without any loss of time.

No

No wonder that Charles, alarmed at this alteration, took care to provide against any attack in his Italian dominions. Accordingly, he filled the strong places there with troops, and seemed at present to act without an ally. Every body wondered at this change in the system of Europe, and could not conceive how Great-Britain, in particular, should still make it a point to depress the house of Austria, and raise that of Bourbon ; a measure so diametrically opposite to what had ever been thought her interest. But those who were in the secret, could, no doubt, reconcile this with German, tho' not with British policy.

1730.  
Charles  
prepares  
for de-  
fence.

Something however was to be done, or to seem to be done, that might a little coincide with the sentiments of the English, who were extremely mortified to see the purchase of their blood and treasure thus in danger of being sacrificed. As his Imperial majesty, notwithstanding all these indignities and threats, could not yet be humbled into any condescensions to the views of Hanover, Great-Britain was permitted to conclude a treaty with him in March, by which she guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. The Emperor, for his part, consented to the introduction of the 6000 Spaniards into Italy ; and soon after agreed to the same, in a treaty with the King of Spain himself. But the Duke of Parma, Anthony Farnese, dying while these negotiations were on foot, the Emperor took possession of his dominions, declaring that if the Duchess, then pregnant, were delivered of a daughter, Don Carlos should be immediately invested in the ducal dignity, and if of a son, that then the garisons should take place, as before stipulated. This being obtained, a large English squadron was sent to convoy over the troops,

1731.  
The se-  
cond trea-  
ty of Vi-  
enna.

troops, under Sir Charles Wager, who arrived with them at Leghorn in October 1731. Don Carlos, who went by land thro' France, arrived at the same place the 27th of December, and was received with all possible marks of respect, especially by the English factory.

1732.  
A new  
founda-  
tion for  
Spanish  
power in  
Italy.

A foundation being thus once more laid, for erecting the Spanish power in Italy, no body doubted but the first opportunities would be taken, to make it effectual. It was a new thing to see a foreigner in the dominions of an independent sovereign, waiting for the succession to his dominions, and keeping ready an armed force to make good his pretensions. The Emperor, tho' he found himself obliged to consent to all this, and would perhaps have done even more to carry his favourite point, the guarantee of all his dominions to his female issue, could not but have apprehensions of the storm that was gathering, and would one day break upon him. And here it is worth while to observe the consistent conduct of the British ministry, who, in one and the same year, take upon themselves that guarantee, and thereby lay the nation, already embarrassed, under new obligations, and actually assist, at a great expence, in carrying over to Italy the means of stripping him of a part of those guaranteed dominions.

Reflec-  
tion.

We have learned to look on this event, it should seem very justly, as the cause of the declension of the house of Austria, that house which we are now again expending our millions to restore. Surely, without some other clue than the interest of Britain, and a due regard to the balance of power, we shall never account for measures so opposite and contradictory. Or is it our interest wantonly to build up, only that

we



we may pull down ; and to pull down, that we may have the pleasure of building up again ?

By the death of Augustus II, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, new work was cut out for the powers of Europe. The history of this Prince is well known. Charles XII, King of Sweden, had formerly obliged him to quit his crown to the Palatine of Posnania, Stanislaus-Lesczinski : but, after the defeat of the Swedish monarch at Pultowa, he resum'd it, and continued in possession to the end of his days. Stanislaus, his competitor being now dead, renew'd his pretensions, and, being become father-in-law to the King of France, was enabled to assert them. His agents soon formed a party among that fickle people, whose passion for money perhaps exceeds their love of liberty. The son of the late King, already Elector of Saxony, became a candidate for the crown also, and had his partisans among the Poles. Stanislaus was indeed elected : but Augustus, supported by the credit of the Emperor, and the arms of Russia, prevail'd against French gold, and even French force. Instead of obtaining a crown, Stanislaus narrowly got off with his life to Dantzick, where he was for some time besieged, and whence he at last with difficulty escaped. It was the resentment of Lewis XV, upon this disappointment, that opened anew the martial field. The court of London, some say, was equally chagrin'd with that of Versailles at this event, and therefore never assisted the Emperor in the ensuing war. The quarrels of the Electorate of Hanover might have been revenged on the Emperor and the Czarina, if Stanislaus had succeeded.

Charles, it has been said, was dissuaded from engaging so far in the affairs of Poland. It was foreseen, that this measure would be attended with

1733.  
Cause of a  
new war.

The Em-  
peror ill  
advised.  
with

with another Italian war, in which the Kings of Spain and Sardinia would join the French. But being himself of a contrary opinion; and having, as monarchs usually have, a majority in his council that flatter'd his views, he resolved rather to try the issue of a war, than see a creature of France on the Polish throne. This resolution cost him the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and greatly exhausted his finances.

War on  
the Rhine.

While the Prince of Beveren was bringing together the Imperial troops, the French army passed the Rhine, besieged fort Kehl the 14th of October, and carried it the 28th. They then extended themselves along the Rhine, and raised large contributions. The court of Vienna was much alarm'd, to see the strongest places in the Empire exposed to the arms of France, before it was in a condition to stop their progress. The French did not, however, push things to the utmost, in order to convince the German Princes, that their quarrel was with the Emperor only; protesting, all the while, that they would keep nothing they might conquer on that side. This declaration had the desired effect. It so embarrass'd the diet of Ratisbon, that the members of it, unwilling to take part in the affair, were so dilatory in their proceedings, that scarce could the Imperial generals get together 23,000 men. All that the Duke of Beveren could do therefore, was to harass the French by sending out parties.

In Italy.

In the mean time, as had been foretold, a treaty was concluded between France, Spain, and Sardinia, by virtue of which those powers join'd their forces, to attack the Emperor in Italy and Sicily. The King of Sardinia was general in chief, and marshal Villars commanded under him. Lodi, Pavia, Vigevano, Cremona, and even the city of Milan, fell immediately into  
their

their hands. They then invested Pizzighitone, and blocked up Novara, Tortona, and the citadel of Milan. Pizzighitone surrender'd before the end of the year, and the allies sat down before Mantua. In a word, nothing could be more unexcusable than the conduct of the Imperial court, which suffer'd places, tenable in themselves, to be left thus defenceless.

During the winter, a resolution pass'd in the diet of Ratisbon to declare war against France, by a majority of 6 to 3 in the college of Electors, and 57 against 12 in that of the Princes. Their highnesses of Bavaria, Cologne, and Palatine, were those that dissented from this resolution; which however encouraged the Emperor, who gave the command on the Rhine to Prince Eugene. That Prince having review'd his army, led it into the lines of Esslingen, made by the late King George in 1707, and repaired the last year by the Prince of Beveren. Even this was an insufficient post, his highness having but 35,000 men, and the French 80,000. He abandon'd the lines when marshal Berwick, having taken Traerbach, advanced near him, and could only throw a reinforcement into Philippsburg. His highness also prevented an invasion of Suabia, which they several times attempted. At last, finding all their measures to that end disconcerted, they sat down before Philippsburg, and took it after a long and bloody siege, in which the Duke of Berwick was kill'd by a cannon ball. Marshal Villars, who had commanded in Italy, died the same month at Turin. Eugene tried in vain to relieve the place, which was utterly impracticable. For baron d'Asfeldt, who commanded the siege, and was one of the best engineers of his age, had thrown up such entrenchments round his army, that to attack them would have been the utmost rashness.

1734.  
Philipps-  
burg ta-  
ken.



rashness. However, the French sustain'd a sort of siege in their camp, suffering extremely from the artillery, both from the town and the Prince's army, but most of all from the inundations of the Rhine, which filled their trenches. The rest of the campaign, after the town surrender'd, was spent in several motions of both armies, the French still attempting an irruption into Suabia, and the Imperialists as often defeating their projects.

The battle of Parma.

General Merci was sent this year into Italy, with an army of 25,000 men. He advanced to the neighbourhood of Mantua, in order to fight the confederates, who were now masters of all the duchies of Milan and Modena, except the capital of the latter. He passed the Po without opposition, together with Prince Lewis of Wirtemberg, the parties of French retiring before him, and abandoning several places. But this success did not long continue: for marshal Coigni, who commanded the French, met him in Italy, under the walls of Parma, with the main army. A bloody battle ensued, and lasted about eleven hours, till near 7000 were kill'd and wounded on each side. Count Merci, the Prince of Culmbach, and 10 other general officers, were among the former, and the Prince of Wirtemberg among the latter, on the side of the Imperialists. The French likewise lost some hundreds of their officers. The action lasted till dark night, when the Imperialists retired, and left the enemy masters of the field of battle. This horrid carnage of men was owing to count Merci; who, against the opinion of every officer in the army, insisted on fighting, tho' the whole place of action was an extent of only 150 fathoms.

But this was not all that happen'd this year in Lombardy: for in the month of September there were

were two other smart actions, between the Imperialists now commanded by count Konigseg, and Marshal the allies. The first, on the 15th, was begun by de Broglie surprised, the Germans, who, having with the utmost secrecy passed the Secchio, attack'd marshal de Broglie's quarters so suddenly, that his guards had much ado to protect his person. He had but just time to escape in his shirt and slippers, with his children, five or six men, and two aids de camp. All his equipage was carried off, and his strong box, in which were upwards of 50,000 livres. The Imperialists pursued their advantage, drove the enemies out of their camp, plunder'd it, and took infinite spoil. The brigade of Picardy, and two other regiments, lost all they had; and great numbers, both officers and soldiers, were killed or taken prisoners. The circumstance of Broglie's flight, without his breeches, was made the subject of much pleasantry.

The second action happened at Guastalla, and Battle of was also very bloody. In this too the Germans Guastalla, began, and, as the French themselves allowed, &c. attack'd their entrenchments with uncommon valour. By ten in the morning the whole armies were engaged, sword in hand. The fight lasted till five in the afternoon, when the Germans retired, without being pursued, to Luzzara, and left behind them some pieces of cannon, with a few colours and standards. Fifteen thousand men were kill'd on both sides, and among them 800 officers. It was imagin'd, that, putting the two actions together, the loss was pretty equal: but that the Germans had not the advantage, as they pretended, was pretty manifest, in that they repass'd the Po seven days after the battle, and broke down the bridge. The French also repass'd that river, to hinder count Konigseg from penetrating into the Piedmontese. That general,

however, defeated a design on Mirandola, which obliged the marquis de Maillebois, who was to execute it, to retreat with great precipitation, leaving a good part of his artillery, ammunition, and baggage. After this the allies retreated under the walls of Cremona, and count Konigseg form'd a scheme to besiege Guastalla. He found it however impracticable, and repass'd the Oglio, which he had cross'd for that purpose. This put an end to the operations of the year, on the side of Lombardy.

The re-  
duction of  
Naples.

It was talk'd of, early in the spring, that Don Carlos, by the mediation of Great Britain, was to have the Emperor's second daughter, and with her Naples and Sicily; in return for which, he was to cede to his Imperial majesty Parma and Placentia. Tho' the marriage did not take place, the exchange did, a conquest being first made of the two kingdoms. For in April this year, the Imperial viceroy having quited that city at his approach, Don Carlos took possession of Naples at the head of his troops, which he had marched out of the garisons on the coast of Tuscany. He was receiv'd with the acclamations of the people, who had been inured to Spanish government. The collateral council, and other chief tribunals of the kingdom, came and did homage to him, which he accepted in the name of his father; promising, that his Catholic majesty would maintain the inhabitants in their privileges; suppress all the taxes impos'd, and continue all the pensions granted by the Emperor; and make no alteration in the disposition of benefices. But it was not long before the young Prince himself assumed the regal title; made his public entry, as King of Naples and Sicily; and prepared, assisted by the fleets of France and Spain, for the conquest of the latter. Mean time the land  
forces



forces undertook to reduce Capua and Gaeta, which still held out for his Imperial majesty. Gaeta made a pretty obstinate defence, but surrender'd before the end of the summer ; Capua stood firm till December, and then obtained honourable conditions, when all Naples was in the hands of the young monarch. It was impossible, indeed, that any single place should long resist, after the gross of the Imperial army, consisting of 7000 foot, and 2400 horse, had been defeated at Bitonto, by the count de Montemar. The number of the slain, wounded, and prisoners, in this small army, was computed at above 7000 men, scarce any of the foot escaping. Two Imperial generals were made prisoners : the secretary's office, baggage, and treasury were taken ; and count Visconti, the late viceroy, escaped by sea to Ancona, in the Ecclesiastical state. Count de Montemar, for this action, was created Duke of Bitonto.

On the 24th of August a fleet of 350 ships, And of Sicily.  
having on board 18,000 foot and 2000 horse, set sail for Sicily. They met with no opposition at their landing, the nobility coming to make their submission to the Duke of Bitonto, to whom the King of Naples had given the dignity of viceroy. Only Syracuse, Trapani, and the citadel of Messina gave any trouble ; and these were all in the hands of the Spaniards by the ensuing March, when the young King, having little farther occasion for his troops, sent the greatest part of them into Lombardy, to assist the allies in the next campaign.

Mean time the maritime powers, who had refused to take part with the Emperor in this war, 1735.  
began to interpose. They communicated to Negotia.  
each court the plan of a pacification, which the tions and  
state of the Emperor's affairs made it necessary operations  
at the same time.

for him to accept. The ministers of his Imperial majesty, France, Great Britain, Prussia Spain, and Sardinia, all met at the Hague, and confer'd with the deputies of the States-general. However, the winter passed in fruitless negotiations, and both armies again took the field early in the spring. Eugene had sixty Imperial regiments on the Rhine, and expected great reinforcements from the Princes of the Empire, and the Danes ; besides 14,000 Russians, who were actually on the march to join him. While these troops were coming up, his highness, to hinder the enemy from taking advantage of his present weakness, turned the course of three small rivers, that run into the Rhine, and drowned all the level country from Philipsburg to Ellingen. He then marched to the Neckar, where the Russians met him, and soon after all the other reinforcements arrived. This enabled him to detach general Seckendorf, with a large body of men to attempt the passage of the Moselle, and the deliverance of the Electorate of Treves ; while himself observed marshal de Coigni, who this year commanded the French. Seckendorf took and re fortified Trarbach, and the prospect of this campaign was very favourable to the French, when Eugene was order'd to leave the army to the Duke of Wirtemberg, and repair to Vienna, to assist at the conferences concerning peace. That Prince did not long survive his arrival at the Austrian capital, and had but just the pleasure to see the preliminaries signed. There was then no doubt but a treaty in form would follow, both parties being equally desirous of an accommodation ; the Emperor, that he might conclude the projected marriage between his eldest daughter and the Duke of Lorrain, and settle his hereditary dominions ;

and

Death of  
Prince  
Eugene.

and the French, on account of their ill success in the North, which obliged them to abandon the interest of King Stanislaus in Poland.

By these preliminary articles, the Duke of Lorraine gave up the duchy of that name, and that of Bar, to King Stanislaus, and after him to the crown of France, in exchange for the Grand duchy of Tuscany ; Augustus was acknowledged King of Poland, and left in peaceable possession of that kingdom ; Don Carlos became established King of Naples and Sicily ; France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction ; the Emperor had every thing restored, that had been taken from him on the Rhine ; and the Milanese, the Mantuan, (lapsed to the Empire by the demise of the last Duke without issue) the Parmesan, and the Placentine, were confirmed to him in Italy.

It will be sufficient just to mention what passed in the mean time in Lombardy, where the Imperialists being but 30,000 strong, and the allies near 100,000, the former were obliged to keep only on the defensive. The surrender of Mirandola, and the blockade of Mantua, were the most remarkable events. But by the latter, notwithstanding the vast preparations that were made, and the greatness of their army, they could not so much as cut off all communication from that city, which stands in the midst of a lake of a considerable extent, and is not easily surrounded.

On the first of February, 1736, was celebrated at Vienna, with great magnificence, the marriage of Mary-Theresa-Caroline eldest Archduchess, and Francis-Stephen Duke of Lorraine. Soon after, the proper acknowledgments of the several titles, settled by the preliminaries, being made by the respective parties, the armies, both in

Preliminary articles.

State of Italy.

1736. Transactions of the next year.



Italy and on the Rhine, began to draw off, and separate. And a war being now ready to break out between the Czarina and the Turk, his Imperial majesty, in return for the favour last year received, order'd a camp of 40,000 men, with a large train of artillery, to be form'd in Hungary, to be in readiness to assist that Princess, whose army besieged and took Asoph. The Imperial troops however did nothing this year, which might therefore be called, with respect to Charles, a year of tranquility. It was taken up in making the stipulated evacuations, and satisfying what had been settled in the preliminaries.

Charles's  
answer to  
the Sul-  
tan.

But I must not forget that the Ottoman Sultan, upon the motions of the Imperial troops, sent a letter to Vienna, to desire the Emperor to explain his intentions, there being at that time a truce subsisting betwixt them. The Turk had for answer, that his Imperial majesty wished for peace, but that if his mediation, which had been offer'd, met not with the desired success, and a war should rekindle, he could not dispense himself from furnishing her Czarian majesty with those succours, to which their reciprocal engagements obliged him. In consequence of this, as the Sultan refused to consent that the Russians should keep Asoph, and the Empress of Russia to give up that conquest, count Seckendorf was order'd to set out for Hungary, to open the campaign there early in the spring.

1737.  
He de-  
mands  
supplies  
of the  
Pope.

The Emperor demanded of the Pope, upon the approaching war with the Turks, the same subsidies as the Popes, his predecessors, had furnish'd. To which the Pontif made answer, that he was dispos'd to contribute the utmost towards the expence of this war, but that he very much wish'd the troops, which his Imperial majesty design'd to employ on this occasion, had  
been

been commanded by a captain who could have receiv'd benefit from the apostolical benediction. This was levelled at count Seckendorf, a Protestant. But the objection was removed, by assuring his holiness, that count Seckendorf had only the second command in the army, the Duke of Lorrain being appointed commander in chief, and generalissimo.

It soon appear'd, that all the ear the Turks had The campaign. given to the propos'd accommodation, was only to gain time: whereupon the operations of war began, both by the Emperor and the Czarina. The Emperor's army marched to Nissa, which surrender'd at the first summons, the garison leaving behind them 145 cannon and mortars. Widin was invested, and a strong detachment, under count Wallis, penetrated into Walachia and Moldavia. But the joy for this success was much abated by a double defeat on the side of Croatia and Bosnia. The first of baron Raunach, who, with 6000 men, was surprized by a great body of Turks, and himself, with many other officers, and the best part of the troops, kill'd. In the other, the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who with 14,000 men had besieged Bagnialuca, was attacked by 30,000 Turks, and most of the party cut in pieces, or drown'd, with the loss of all their cannon and baggage. On the other hand, the Russians were every where successful; which made the Turks again offer an accommodation; but to the same purpose as before, each power insisting on keeping what they had acquired. At the end of the campaign, the Turks made fresh conquests on the Imperialists, and count Seckendorf, as he was going to the relief of Nissa, (then besieged by the enemy) was order'd to resign his command to the field-marshal Philippi, and repair to court.

court. This was owing to a powerful cabal form'd against the count at Vienna, which appear'd to have no other foundation than his religion. It is certain, indeed, that the count's troops suffer'd extremely, which was charged to his bad conduct ; but he excused himself, by complaining of the want of money, which disabled him from doing any thing considerable after the taking of Nissa. Upon a formal examination he refuted all the charges against his conduct, and must have been acquitted, if he had not refused a mean compliance with what was required of him by his accusers. For this, to the scandal of the court of Vienna, he was long kept a prisoner.

1738.  
Fate of  
general  
Doxat.

Early the next year the Turks invested Ufitza with 6000 men : but, after two unsuccessful attacks, raised the siege with loss. Nissa, however, for want of timely relief, had been obliged to surrender to the Turks, without any apparent crime of the governor, general Doxat, except his care to save six battalions. But the ministry of Vienna, to colour their own fault in preventing the relief, had that brave officer condemned and executed. In a word, and without descending into particulars, the court of Vienna, where count Zinzendorf had the chief power, seem'd to be entirely under the direction of France, whose only view was to distress it, and to compleat, by intrigue, what she had only begun by hostilities.

Prince  
Ragotzi  
brought  
on the  
stage.

Prince Ragotzi (for the Turks know how to make use of a pretender) appeared again on the stage during this rupture. He executed a treaty with the Sultan, and communicated it to all the foreign ministers at Constantinople. But M Villeneuve and Sir Everard Faulkener, the French and Dutch ministers, refused to receive those



those pieces, as their masters had undertaken to be mediators between the Porte and the court of Vienna. The nominal mediation was indeed referred to both powers, and the States-General, whose minister was not so scrupulous: but the whole business, as it appeared in the sequel, was transacted by Villeneuve, and the maritime powers, as things were carried, were willing enough to have no share of the business charged upon them.

As to the campaign against the Turks, it proved not less to the disgrace, and more to the loss, of his Imperial majesty than the last. For one small advantage gained over the enemy, and not at all improved, the Emperor lost first Old Orsova, then Meadia, and, after a pretty long siege, New Orsova, in which were taken 250 cannons and mortars. The Turks also committed great ravages in the bannat of Temeswaer, and upon other frontiers; forced Semendria, Vipalancha, and some other defenceless places, to submit. The bashaw of Bosnia was not indeed so successful in the siege of Ratscha, which he was obliged to abandon on the approach of some Saxon and Bavarian troops. But this was a small recompence, and could not prevent the Emperor, at the instigation of M Villeneuve, from thinking of a separate peace with the Mahometans. This was all the French wanted, that, by dividing the Imperialists and Russians, they might weaken them both. The Czarina, tho' not much more successful this year than Charles, remonstrated however against any such measure.

The Turks refusing to come to an accommodation in the winter, except on such terms as neither the Emperor nor Russia would agree to, great expectations were again raised upon the approach-  
1739.  
Ineffectual proposals of peace.

approaching operations. Count Konigseg, who had commanded the Imperialists the year before, was removed for no other cause but his ill success, and Count Wallis sent in his stead, tho' at the head of an army much inferior to the enemy. On their side was also a new commander, the Grand Vizir having been deposed, to make way for another, supposed of more experience. Before the campaign was opened, they made fresh proposals of peace; which were of such a nature, that the Imperial court declared they could not accept them. To have been more flexible had certainly been better, as the event soon made evident.

The  
battle of  
Krozka.

Not to mention their previous motions, the two armies came within sight of each other about the middle of August, near a place called Krozka, of which the Turks had taken possession. Hereupon it was agreed by the Imperial generals, to attack them before they could fortify themselves, without waiting for a reinforcement that was coming up under Count Neuperg. Accordingly marshal Wallis marched the 21st in the evening, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, with 14 regiments of horse, and 18 companies of grenadiers, leaving the Prince of Hildburghausen to come after with the infantry. On the 22d, at day-break, the marshal arrived at Krozka, with his detachment, and immediately pushed the enemy on all sides: but the regiment of Hohenzollern, having advanced too far, was attacked afresh, and forced to abandon all the advantages it had gained. This prevented the marshal's design, and obliged him to retreat to the mountains, at the very time that the Prince of Hildburghausen arrived with the infantry. His highness immediately made himself master of a post on the  
right

right, on the maintaining of which the retreat entirely depended. There the enemy attacked him several times, but were always repulsed, which saved part of the army. The slaughter, however, was very bloody on the side of the Germans ; who had a great many officers of distinction killed or wounded. In particular the Earl of Crawford, who was aid de camp to Prince Waldeck, was miserably wounded, and had his horse shot under him. It is said he killed three Turks with his own hand. Never were the Ottomans known to make so continual and obstinate a fire, as they did during the whole day, and part of the night. Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Waldeck maintained their posts several hours against them ; but were obliged to retire in the night, with the rest, to their old camp. They staid there but till next day, when the marshal decamped, and entered the lines of Belgrade : these he also quited soon after, and crossed the Danube into the bannat of Temeswaer; where he routed a detachment of the enemy, which however had no advantageous consequence.

During the action at Krozka, the Imperial A naval flotilla on the Danube was surrounded by near an hundred saicks : yet admiral Pallavicini, by his good conduct and bravery, disengaged it, and brought it back to Belgrade. Neither he, however, nor Count Wallis, could prevent the Grand Vizir's design on that place, which he immediately invested, and fell to battering and bombarding most furiously, as if he would carry it by storm, without the ceremony of opening trenches.

All this time Villeneuve, the French ambas- Peace con-  
dor, was in the Turkish camp, carrying on ne- cluded.  
gotiations of peace. This great shock, which  
might



might have been followed by more fatal consequences, occasioned Count Neuperg, with the consent of the other generals, to repair thither, where a peace was soon concluded. It was agreed, that the Emperor should abandon Belgrade and Servia to the Sultan, as well as Orsova: that the Danube and the Save should, for the future, form the limits of the two Empires: that the bannat of Temeswaer, and the town of that name, with the territory thereon dependent, comprehending Meadia, should remain to his Imperial majesty: that Orsova should continue in the condition it was at present, but that the fortifications of Belgrade should be demolished: that the Emperor should not only withdraw his troops from Belgrade, but likewise his artillery, ammunition, and garisons: that four days should be allowed to the inhabitants, to carry off their effects; and that, till these things could be effected, one of the gates of the town should be delivered up to the Turks.

Belgrade  
delivered  
up.

Immediately after signing these articles, advice thereof was given to general Suckau, the governor, who refused to deliver up the town; alledging, that he had his Imperial majesty's command to defend it to the last extremity, which he would punctually obey, the place being in a condition of yet holding out a long time. Before he could be prevailed upon, Count Wallis was obliged to assure him, that he might safely do what was required of him, for that a peace was concluded. Four hundred janissaries were then permitted to take possession of the gate of Wirtemberg; and soon after Count Wallis coming to the Turkish camp, he and the Grand Vizir went together into the town, where 3000 men were employed to demolish the fortifications. The Grand Vizir offered several mil-  
lions

lions to let these works stand in their then condition, but his proposal was rejected.

As the Emperor had agreed not to make peace without the Czarina, his Imperial majesty found himself greatly embarrassed with what his generals had done, which he declared to be absolutely without his consent or knowledge. The Russian Empress seemed willing to believe him, and to follow the example, notwithstanding the rapid success of Count Munich, who had won a great victory at Choczim, and made himself master of almost all Moldavia. A peace was accordingly concluded for her, under the same French mediation, before the end of the year, not so much for her advantage as might have been expected. In the mean time the two counts, Neuperg and Wallis, were arrested.

Nothing remarkable happened the next year, (except an insurrection of the peasants in Stiria, which had no bad consequences) till that great event, which put a period to the Austrian family, in the male line, and consequently to the Imperial succession in that family, where it had continued three hundred and one years without interruption. 1740. An insurrection in Stiria.

On the 20th of October died the Emperor Charles VI, aged 55 years and 18 days. His distemper proceeded from an indigestion, occasioned by a cold, which he neglected, and continued his usual diversion of hunting, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which was so sharp as to kill the vines about Vienna. The disorder increased till it threw him into a violent cholic, followed with a continual vomiting and fever, which ended in an inflammation of his bowels, that carried him off the 11th day of his illness. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis late Duke of Brunswick-Blankenburg, who,

who, before her marriage, abjured the Lutheran, and embraced the Roman Catholic religion. By her he had two daughters, the eldest married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, late Duke of Lorrain ; the other unmarried.

Neglected to get his son-in-law chose King of the Romans.

It is thought that Charles, if he had attempted it upon his daughter's marriage, would have found little difficulty in getting the Grand Duke elected King of the Romans, which would have paved the way for him to the Imperial dignity, and might have enabled him again to have entailed it on the issue of his consort. But as no Prince had been yet born of their marriage, and his Imperial majesty had hopes, advanced as he was in years, to see such issue, and perhaps to get the title of King of the Romans conferred on it before his own death (which would have continued the succession still without interruption) this was thought to be the reason why he did not stir in behalf of his son-in-law, and thereby prevent a destructive war, which in all probability would not have happened, if the Grand Duke had been chosen Emperor.

His daughter succeeds to his hereditary estates.

His consort, however, was proclaimed Queen of the Romans upon her father's death, as well as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Princess of Transylvania, Archduchess of Austria, and successor to all the hereditary dominions of her illustrious house. This was conformable to the disposition made by the late Emperor, called the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, which was approved of by most of the Princes of the Empire, and afterwards guaranteed by several of the chief powers in Europe.

Character of the Emperor Charles VI.

Charles VI was of a middle stature, and moderately fat ; had a brisk eye, and, like every one of his family, a thick lip. It being expected that he would succeed to the kingdom of Spain, he



he had a grave education, suitable to the people he was to govern, which made him contract an air of seriousness, that, to those who did not well know him, had an appearance of severity : yet was he, in the general, very affable and humane. He was a great lover and a good judge of music, having himself composed operas, but with what success I have never heard. He gave very few instances of personal valour, tho' his courage, when first in Spain, was sometimes applauded in the gazettes : so that this part of his reputation did not long continue. The severity used to his generals, towards the latter end of his life, merely for not accomplishing more than they had men or money to undertake, is a little blemish upon the justice of his court and ministry, and upon his own application to affairs, which ought to have got him better information. It seemed, at that time, as if the government at Constantinople had been made the model of that at Vienna. In fine, Charles had the true Austrian piety, and was pretty much attached to the superstitions of his own religion.

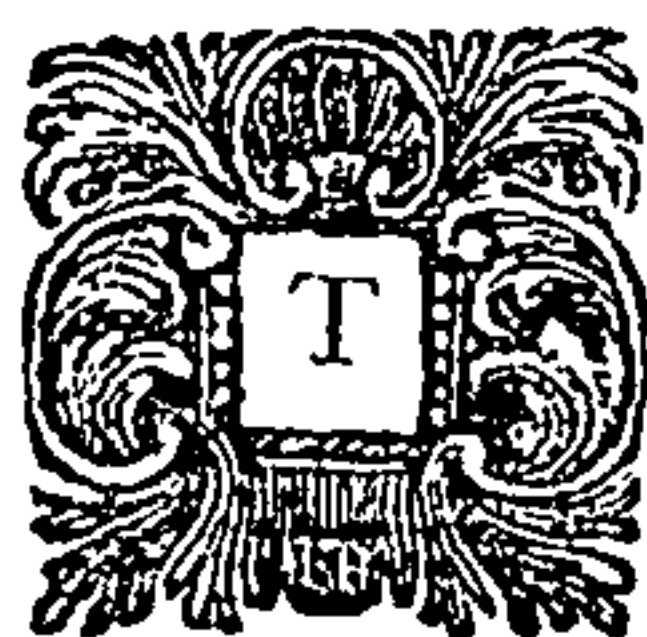




## C H A P. X.

THE HISTORY of the PRAGMATIC SANCTION; the claims in opposition to it; and the means that have been hitherto taken to make them good.

Meaning  
of the  
words  
Pragmatic  
Sanction.



THE words *Pragmatic Sanction* are, perhaps, as little understood, as any that are so commonly made use of: nor is it easy to fix any determinate sense to them, that may be relied on upon every occasion. *Pragmatic*\*, according to the etymology, should signify *expert, skilful, busy, belonging to the civil courts*; THAT REGARDS THE MATTER IN GENERAL, ABSTRACTED FROM THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PERSONS †. In this latter sense it seems to have been taken by the Emperors, in the ordinance, decree, or instrument, call'd the *Pragmatic Sanction*; which was to perpetuate the dominions of the Austrian family in that House, tho' there were no male issue. It absolutely determines, that such and such estates shall descend in the manner thereby fix'd, without regard to birth-right, prior claim, sex, or any other pretence whatsoever; and the powers, who guarantee it, engage to see this fulfilled.

\* Πραγματικὸς, serius, solers in negotiis agendis & rebus tractandis. GLOSS. VER. negotiosus, forensis, rerum peritus, negotialis, ΑΠΕΡΓΥΜΑ. HEDERIC. a PATRICK.

† Cic. de Invent. 1. 11. & 2. 21. Quint. 1. 3. c. 8.

The terms had been frequently used, before they were assumed to this particular use. In France they had signified an ordinance or business, - belonging sometimes to the church, and sometimes to the state; more particularly those ordinances relating to ecclesiastical affairs, wherein the rights of the Gallican church were asserted against the usurpations of the Papal see. In the Empire they sometimes mean his Imperial majesty's letter, by advice of his council, in answer to a collective body of men, who desire to know the law upon a particular occasion, or extraordinary contingency, relating to their community; and if this answer be given to a single person, it is called a rescript.

But to proceed to our present purpose. The Emperor Leopold, foreseeing the fatal consequences that would attend the failure of male issue in his family, by disturbing the peace of the Empire, as well as of all Europe, formed a design to settle the succession in the female line, as the only way to prevent the revolutions that might otherwise follow. Accordingly, about forty years ago (the eldest branch of the house of Austria being already extinct in Charles II, King of Spain) he communicated this scheme to his two sons, Joseph and Charles, afterwards Emperors, who jointly approved of it. He then delivered it to his ministers, who carried it thro' the several diets of the Empire, where it received all the validity those august assemblies could give it. Upon his death, his eldest son succeeded, and, during a reign of six years only, did not think of making any particular disposition in this instrument in favour of his own children, tho' neither he, nor his brother Charles had any son. The Emperor Joseph, by his wife Wilhelmina-Amelia, daughter of John-Frederick



Frederick Duke of Hanover, left two daughters, who were afterwards married ; Maria-Josepha, born in 1669, and married at Dresden in 1719 to Augustus electoral Prince of Savoy, now Elector and King of Poland ; and Maria-Amelia, born in 1701, and married at Munich in 1722 to Charles-Albert, electoral Prince of Bavaria, now Elector and Emperor of Germany. They are both at this time living, and have issue.

Altered  
by the  
late Em-  
peror  
Charles,  
in favour  
of his  
own chil-  
dren.

Charles succeeding to the Empire, and having at that time no child, the right of succession as yet remained in his nieces, after his decease. In 1718 a son was born to this Emperor, which gave infinite joy to the whole family : but he died the same year. He had afterwards three daughters ; Maria-Theresa-Walpurge, born in 1717 ; Maria-Anne-Eleonora, born in 1718 ; and Maria-Amelia-Carolina, born in 1724, and since dead. Upon the birth of the eldest, now Queen of Hungary, he began to think of securing to her that succession, which, in right of blood, should, after his decease, revert to the daughters of his brother. The Pragmatic Sanction, as made by his father, was not sufficient therefore for his purpose ; but the same authority that made the one, and entailed upon female issue the Austrian estates, could make another, and confine that entail to his own posterity. Accordingly he had this instrument drawn up anew, in favour of his own children, whether male or female, and it was agreed to in a council held by him for that purpose. Six months after, in the year 1720, it was approved of by the hereditary dominions, and sworn to by the states and magistrates : but other courts, foreseeing the difficulties that might attend such an engagement, were not over-forward to guarantee it.

The

The courts of Great-Britain and France, in particular, tho' at that time mediators between the Emperor and the King of Spain, refused to take this suretiship upon them. This produced the first treaty of Vienna, in 1725, between their Imperial and Catholic majesties; who not being able to reconcile matters under the mediation, the former threw himself, and his interests, wholly into the arms of the latter, upon this single condition of his becoming guarantee to the new Pragmatic Sanction. Without this engagement of great powers to support it, there was, indeed, little room to think that an establishment of this kind would take place; especially considering the vicinity and power of the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, the two chief claimants in right of their wives, and the first of whom had, besides, particular claims in his own personal right.

In the year 1726 Muscovy virtually guaran- Several  
teed the Pragmatic Sanction; and some months Powers  
after, by a conclusion of the general diet of the guarantee  
Empire, it was declared a public law. In 1731, the Prag-  
by the second article of the second treaty of Vi- matic  
enna, Great-Britain, after having so long re- Sanction.  
fused it, took on her the same guarantee: and  
in 1732 the Dutch became special guarantees of  
the said Sanction; as did the crown of Den-  
mark the same year. The French, after many  
traverses and difficulties, agreed to guarantee it  
by the definitive treaty, signed by the Emperor  
at Vienna in 1736. This is the same treaty  
whereby the Duke of Lorrain, upon cession of  
the duchies of Lorrain and Bar in favour of  
King Stanislaus for life, and to France for ever,  
was made Grand Duke of Tuscany, upon the  
death of John Gaston de Medicis, the last male  
of that ancient family. Spain, by the same  
treaty,

treaty, obtained the quiet possession of Naples and Sicily for the Infant Don Carlos. These two powers therefore, one would think, were sufficiently paid for the engagement they took on themselves, which however we have seen them both violate ; whereas Russia and Great-Britain, who obtained nothing, remain firm to their obligation, the first at least in words and remittances, and the latter with her full power, at an expence that she never incur'd on any other occasion. As to the Dutch, they also remit, but seem not inclined to move a step.

Princes  
who op-  
pose it.

The Princes of the Empire, who opposed the Pragmatic Sanction, were, besides the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, and the Bishop of Freisingen and Ratisbon. What interest the former could have in so doing, is not altogether so manifest ; but the Bishop is himself a Bavarian Prince, and both his dioceses are surrounded by the electorate of that name. The Elector of Saxony was brought over to acquiesce in the Emperor's disposition, upon condition that his Imperial majesty should put some crown upon his head ; which was accordingly effected, by procuring him to be elected King of Poland.

Claims  
upon the  
Austrian  
estates.

As to other claims, besides those from their marriages, the Elector of Bavaria had, in right of his family, pretensions on the duchy of Upper Austria, which anciently belonged to Bavaria, to the county of Tirol, and to the marquisate of Burgau in Suabia, all possessed by the house of Austria. The Elector of Saxony had none, in his own right, on any part of the Austrian succession : but the Elector of Brandenburg, who had not the same connection in blood as these, had an ancient claim to the duchy of Jergern-



Jergendorf in Silesia, which the house of Austria had held rather by force than just title.

Mary-Theresa, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, <sup>1740.</sup> had, we see, little to rely on, upon the death of <sup>France</sup> her father, but the Pragmatic Sanction. <sup>declares in</sup> The <sup>favour of</sup> Princes, who had undertaken to guarantee it, <sup>the Sanc-</sup> professed to stand by their engagements. France, <sup>tion.</sup> in particular, made declarations in very strong terms, that “ she would strictly fulfil the en-  
“ gagements she was under, by virtue of the  
“ Pragmatic Sanction, and that she would keep  
“ clear of every thing that might restrain the  
“ free choice of a new Emperor.”

All the Electors, except Bavaria, received A fresh her notification of the death of the Emperor, <sup>claim set</sup> tho’ she used in her letters the title of Queen of <sup>up by the</sup> the Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia, &c. But <sup>Elector of</sup> her letter to the court of Munich was sent back <sup>Bavaria.</sup> to the Bavarian minister at Vienna, who return’d it to the ministers of the Queen, declaring, that it was impossible for his master to acknowledge that Princess as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, because he had himself a claim on those kingdoms by the will of Ferdinand I. An extract of this will was remited to Vienna, and imported, “ That  
“ the eldest Archduchess, daughter of the said  
“ Ferdinand I, who should be living when the  
“ said succession should be open, should succeed  
“ to the two kingdoms of Hungary and Bo-  
“ hemia, in case there be no MALE heir of any  
“ of the three brothers of that Emperor.”  
Now all the male heirs of the family being extinct, and the Elector of Bavaria being descended from Anne, second daughter of the said Ferdinand, and the eldest who had issue remaining, he upon this claimed the succession to those kingdoms. But the original will, as it was found in the archives of Austria, said only,

“ That the Archduchefs, eldest daughter of  
 “ Ferdinand I, living when the succession shall  
 “ be open, shall succeed to the said kingdoms,  
 “ in case there shall be no LAWFUL heir living  
 “ of any of the Emperor’s three brothers.”

In short, as the Elector pretended, that, according to the import of the will, the succession was now *open* ; the court of Vienna maintained, on the other hand, that the succession was *not* now *open*, because the late Emperor did not die without lawful posterity. This was a new and unexpected claim, added to what are above recited.

The King  
 of Prussia  
 invades  
 Silesia.

Notwithstanding the pacific pretensions of France, it was not doubted, by the most penetrating, from the known affection of that court to the Duke of Bavaria, but that she would interpose to make good his claims, and, if possible, to procure him the Imperial crown. On the contrary, while the King of Prussia was assembling his troops, in order, as every one imagined, to support the Pragmatic Sanction, according to the assurances he had given ; all of a sudden he enters Silesia, at the head of 30,000 men, and publishes a declaration, asserting his pretensions on that duchy : but at the same time disclaiming any design to disturb the peace of the Empire, or to injure the succession of her Hungarian majesty.

1741.  
 Both Bavaria and Spain  
 claim all  
 the suc-  
 cession.

The Elector of Bavaria, upon this, set up a right to *all* the late Emperor’s possessions ; and the King of Spain, having likewise published in form his claim to *all* the Austrian dominions, began to assemble an army to seize on those in Italy, notwithstanding the difficulties that must attend a march thro’ France, or the danger of meeting the British squadrons, if he endeavour’d to transport the troops by sea. In short, the young

young Princess seemed on the point of being swallowed up by her neighbours, before she could make provision for her own defence.

His Prussian majesty pushed on his conquests with great celerity, and behaved, wherever he came, rather as a Prince, who sought to win the affections of the Silesians, than by any means to oppress them. As most of the people are Protestants, it is thought that contributed not a little to his conquests. I shall not be particular in the relation of them, they being so recent, that it is sufficient to remind the reader, that on the 7th of March Glogau was taken by storm; that on the 10th of April, a battle was fought at Mollwitz, within a league of Neiss, in which the Prussians had the victory, tho' they bought it dearly; and that, in a word, his Prussian majesty was soon master of the greatest part of Silesia, where negotiations were assiduously carrying on by the Earl of Hyndford, to reconcile him to the Queen of Hungary.

The King of Prussia reduces Silesia.

Mean while the Elector of Bavaria, upon the Queen of Hungary's refusing to give him up any part of her late father's dominions, went on apace with his military preparations. France, notwithstanding her promise, did the same, and demanded of the circle of Suabia a free passage for an army into Bavaria; at the same time continuing to assure the court of Vienna, that his most Christian majesty persisted in a firm resolution to live in amity with the Queen of Hungary, and that his preparations for war ought not to give her the least umbrage. The steadiness of the Hungarians, in this situation of affairs, was remarkable: they not only crown'd their Queen with great solemnity at Presburg, but refused to receive a protest from the Elector, objecting against her coronation.

Prepared by the courts of Bavaria and France.

The



Distress of  
the Queen  
of Hun-  
gary.

The first act of hostility, committed by his electoral highness, was the surprisal of Passau, an Imperial city, and the key of Upper Austria. From thence he advanced to Lintz, the capital of that province, which also fell immediately into his hands, and then continued his march towards Vienna. About the same time he was declared generalissimo of the French armies in the Empire, one of which was coming to support him, and another, to the number of 38,000 men, advanced to the Rhine. His Britannic majesty was then in his German dominions ; where, perceiving the danger to which the Queen of Hungary was exposed, he began to put his troops in motion, as if he resolved effectually to assist her, and make good his guarantee : but the sudden march of the French into Westphalia, under marshal Maillebois, and his majesty's insufficiency, with his electoral forces only, to make head against them, produced a treaty of neutrality, for the electorate of Hanover, between the courts of Versailles and Herenhausen. It was now publicly known, that the Elector of Bavaria pretended to the Imperial dignity, and that the French court would absolutely support him in his pretensions. He declared open war against her Hungarian majesty, by the name of Grand Dukes of Tuscany, and, by his approaches towards Vienna, in conjunction with marshal Belleisle, who had projected his whole plan of operations, and now brought up an army to join his electoral highness, oblige that Princess to leave the place of her residence, with the Grand Duke her consort. But the efforts of the Hungarians, on this occasion, was equal to the distress of their sovereign : they prevented the siege of Vienna, and brought her back thither in safety. She had no resource left,

left, but in the valour of her troops, and that was found sufficient.

When the Elector saw his first design frustrated, he turned off to the left into Bohemia, and in a short time made himself master of that kingdom, enter'd the capital in triumph, and was there crowned. Thro' the power of the French he seem'd now to carry all before him, especially when it was known that the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, had come into the same alliance, and was to have a share in the projected partition of the Austrian estates. Only the King of Sardinia seem'd both able and disposed to assist the menaced Queen; which he did by opposing the passage of the Spaniards into Lombardy, to seize the duchy of Milan. The Electors seem'd all inclin'd to fix the Imperial crown on the new King of Bohemia, and the Elector of Hanover, in particular, agreed to vote for him, as the condition upon which he obtain'd a neutrality for his dominions. Agreeable to this he was elected at Frankfort, and crown'd on the 21st of January, 1741, with the usual solemnities, by the name of Charles VII.

In the mean time, the rigour of the season, instead of obstructing the operations of war, seem'd to animate the contending parties with fresh vigour. The Austrians and Hungarians, tho' unassisted, were victorious in several skirmishes. They recover'd several towns in Bohemia, and took others on the frontiers of Bavaria, in particular the important pass of Scharding, which open'd a way into that electorate, great part of which they laid under contribution. Eight thousand Bavarians, under marshal Thoring, were entirely defeated by general Berenclau and colonel Mentzel, and the marshal himself taken prisoner. Count Khevenhuller invested Mentz,

1742.

Success of  
the Austri-  
ans in Ba-  
varia.

Mentz, where was a garison of 8 or 9000 French, whom he soon reduced to the extremity of eating horfesh, and at last made them surrender. They had their liberty, upon condition of not bearing arms again for a twelve-month against her Hungarian majesty. That general then advanc'd into Bavaria, and extended the contributions to the gates of Munich ; which capital surrendr'd upon the first summons to the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghaulen, who enter'd that electorate on the other side from the Tirolese.

And in  
Bohemia.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, with the main army, had entrenched himself at Budweis, in Bohemia. Marshal Broglio, who now commanded the French in that kingdom, observing a daily desertion among his troops, resolved to attack his serene highness, while he had yet an army. The Prince was prepared for his reception, having drawn up his infantry under cover of the artillery, three quarters of an hour before the attack begun. The French and Bavarians made three desperate assaults, and, tho' they were repulsed with considerable loss, advanced a fourth time. Then the Austrians, perceiving the enemy quite exhausted, issued out of their fortified posts, and fell upon them with such fury, that they gave them an entire defeat, killing 3500, and wounding 5000. It was remarkable in this action, that the Austrians gave quarters to the Bavarians, but refused it to the French.

All pro-  
spect of  
their af-  
fairs else-  
where.

But while the Queen of Hungary's affairs went on thus prosperously in Bavaria and Bohemia, they had a different aspect in Moravia, where the King of Prussia, after the reduction of Silesia, had made himself master of almost all the country, and even brought the capital, Olmutz, to be surrendr'd upon capitulation. And in Italy the Spaniards had made two large debarkations of  
troops,



troops, without any considerable obstruction from the English fleet, which were to enter the Austrian dominions thro' the duchy of Modena, while the Infant, Don Carlos, penetrated thro' the country of Nice. But the success of the Prussians in Moravia was not uninterrupted: they were obliged by Prince Charles of Lorraine to raise the siege of Brin, and were very much harassed in their retreat. Mean while marshal Broglio became master of Egra, which surrendered by capitulation, upon the same terms for the garison as the Austrians had granted to the French at Lintz.

The month of May produced two battles, both in Bohemia; one at Czaſlaw, between the King of Prussia and Prince Charles; the other near Frauenberg, between Prince Lobkowitz and the marshals Belleisle and Broglio. In both the Austrians lost the field, but left their enemies no great room for boasting. At the battle of Czaſlaw the Prussian horse suffered extremely, and the trophies of victory were seen on both sides. At Frauenberg the loss of the French was vastly superior to that of the Austrians, who were only obliged to give way to numbers. In a word, the Queen of Hungary's affairs now wore a very favourable aspect.

What contributed the most hereto, was the peace that immediately after ensued between their Prussian and Hungarian majesties. It was brought about by the Earl of Hyndford, who signed the preliminaries at Breslau, on the first of June, with count de Podeweltz, minister plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia. The principal articles were, "That the Queen yielded to his Prussian majesty not only the Upper and Lower Silesia, except the principalities of Treſchen and Troppau, but like-

" wife

“ wise the territory of Glatz in Bohemia : that  
 “ the King should observe an exact neutrality  
 “ during the continuance of the war, and within  
 “ 15 days withdraw his troops from Bohemia :  
 “ and, that his majesty would take wholly  
 “ upon himself to pay the sum, principal and  
 “ interest, due to the English merchants, on  
 “ account of the mortgage made by the late  
 “ Emperor upon Silesia.” His Britannic ma-  
 jesty guaranteed this treaty both as King of  
 Great Britain and Elector of Hanover. This  
 affair was negotiated with impenetrable secrecy,  
 Prince Charles finding means, immediately after  
 the battle of Czaſlaw, to have an interview with  
 his Prussian majesty, whom it is said he would  
 never have attacked, if a courier from Vienna  
 had reached him a few hours sooner than it actu-  
 ally arrived.

The King  
 of Poland  
 leaves the  
 alliance.

In a short time after the King of Poland was  
 detached from his alliance with France and Ba-  
 varia, upon a private family convention between  
 him and the Queen of Hungary. By this it  
 was stipulated, that if it should happen, that  
 the direct issue of the late Emperor, Charles VI,  
 should fail, the electoral house of Saxony should  
 succeed to all the Austrian territories. This left  
 the French army in Hungary in the utmost  
 distress, and obliged it to retire under the walls  
 of Prague, and afterwards into the town itself.

Other  
 particu-  
 lars in  
 Germany.

The remarkable siege and blockade of Prague,  
 in which the French army was reduced to such  
 great straits; the march of Maillebois to its  
 succour, and the means employed to defeat his  
 enterprize; Belleisle's retreat, with the majority  
 of the garison, and the sufferings of his troops  
 upon the road; the siege of Egra by the  
 Austrians; the efforts made by both armies, in  
 Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, to extend  
 their

their quarters during winter ; the taking and re-taking of towns on the Inn, the Iser, and the Danube ; the plans of accommodation handed about ; the vigorous measures taken by Great Britain, to support her Hungarian majesty ; all these are facts too recent to need any particular relation here, and the consequences of which are as yet too little known, for us to form any reasonable conjectures upon the final event of the present war.

Much the same may be said with regard to In Italy, what has been done on the side of Italy. Savoy, a country not tenable against a superior enemy, and which can no otherwise support an army than by supplies from the provinces of France, has been abandoned by its Sovereign ; who yet, notwithstanding the difficulties he is driven to, seems to remain firm to his engagements. The Duke of Modena, for inclining to favour the Spaniards at the beginning of the war, and dealing equivocally with the courts of Vienna and Turin, is kept in exile from his dominions, which are made, in the mean time, the seat of hostilities. Don Carlos, willing to second the designs of his mother, and help his brother to erect a monarchy in Lombardy, sees himself tied down to a neutrality by the terror of an English fleet ; while a new Sovereign, that had already been gaz'd and laugh'd at by all Europe, returns to the people who had once submitted to him, with more authority than ever, and seems to be himself under powerful protection, as he has made no scruple to declare against the enemies of the Queen of Hungary.

Whatever these commotions may in time produce, one may venture, I think, to say this beforehand : That if the Queen of Hungary should be at last strip'd of a considerable part of her

Reflec  
tion.

her



her dominions, and reduced to a level with the other Sovereigns of Germany, we shall blame that obstinacy which hinder'd her at first from purchasing peace by a few concessions, and those who cherish'd that obstinacy in her, without giving her effectual and timely support. And if she succeeds against all her enemies, and preserves the grandure of her house, we shall have more reason to ascribe the cause of it to Providence than to the Pragmatic Sanction, or to any effects of human strength or human prudence.



## C H A P. XI.

A political view of the Austrian dominions, their extent, riches, and strength, as left by the late Emperor Charles VI; a description of Hungary, &c.

Dominions of the Queen of Hungary.



Extent of territories, and number of subjects, did alone constitute power, the Queen of Hungary would, perhaps, be a match for any potentate in Europe. The area of her dominions is twice as large as that of France, including the provinces conquer'd by Lewis XIV. Those which lie contiguous are the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; the principality of Transylvania; the archduchy of Austria; the duchies of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Slavonia, and, till very lately, Silesia; the Margraviate of Moravia; the county of Tirol; the bishopric of Trent; part of Croatia and Bosnia, with all Morlachia. Besides these, her Hungarian majesty has in Italy the duchies of

of Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Placentia ; in Germany, several territories in Suabia ; and in the Low Countries, all that belonged there to the Spanish monarchy. Her husband, the Grand Duke, hath Tuscany, and his ancient family claim upon Lorrain. The dimensions of all these, in square miles, has been given as below. To which I will add the supposed revenue of the chief of them, and the proportion'd subsidy demanded of several provinces in 1733, at the breaking out of the war with France, Spain, and Sardinia.

Countries names.	Length in Eng. miles.	Breadth	Annual Revenue. /.	Subsidy demanded /.	Table of their Ex- tent, &c.
Hungary ———	230 —	160 —	1,000,000 —	230,000	
Bohemia ———	130 —	110 —	800,000 —	260,000	
Transilvania —	130 —	100 —	—————	70,000	
Silesia ———	200 —	60 }	500,000 —	380,000	
Moravia ———	90 —	50 }			
Austria ———	160 —	70 —	1,000,000 —	140,000	
Stiria ———	95 —	60 —	—————	35,000	
Carinthia ———	105 —	30 —	—————	—————	
Slavonia ———	210 —	55 —	—————	9,000	
Carniola ———	100 —	50 —	—————	—————	
Croatia ———	60 —	40 —	—————	20,000	
Bosnia ———	55 —	40 —	—————	—————	
Morlachia ———	140 —	50 —	—————	—————	
Tirol ———	80 —	40 —	—————	11,000	
Trent ———	60 —	40 —	—————	—————	
Milan ———	120 —	70 —	800,000 —	—————	
Mantua ———	40 —	20 —	70,000 —	—————	
Parma and Placentia }	65 —	50 —	90,000 —	—————	
Tuscany ———	100 —	100 —	800,000 —	—————	
The Austrian Netherlands }	120 —	60 —	—————	—————	
Dominions in Suabia, sup- pose ——— }	60 —	60 —	—————	—————	

Compar'd  
with o-  
thers.

By this account it appears, that the annual revenue of only some (tho' indeed the best) of her Hungarian majesty's dominions, amounts to above five millions sterling, besides what she can raise by extraordinary subsidies. But then it must at the same time be consider'd, that the extent and disjunction of these vast territories makes it very expensive to keep them in a state of defence; which it is always necessary to do, especially in Hungary, in the Netherlands, and upon the Rhine, because of the neighbourhood of two such potent and jealous rivals as the King of France and the Grand Signor, who commonly play the game into each other's hand, when they have a mind to distress the house of Austria. Perhaps the whole annual income, upon an average, subsidies and free gifts included, may make about the sum of ten millions; no great matter, all the necessary charges of government consider'd, when we compare it with what has been raised some years in Great Britain, exclusive of his majesty's other dominions, British and German: and yet the subjects of the house of Austria have been always represented as living under oppression, tho', in proportion to their number, they hardly pay one half of what we pay, when we raise only seven millions.

Other re-  
venues of  
the late  
Emperor.

Before the cession of Naples and Sicily to Don Carlos, the late Emperor had about two millions and a half more coming in yearly, as an equivalent for which he had only the 90,000*l* from the small duchies of Parma and Placentia. He had also, as Emperor, the right of granting investitures, for which prodigious sums were frequently paid. Of late years every one must remember the famous investiture of Bremen and Verden, which made such a long misunderstanding between the courts of Hanover and Vienna. The

grants



grants also made by the diet of the Empire, together with the Imperial dignity, are departed from the house of Austria.

In 1728, when there was a profound peace, Forces. according to a list published in Germany, the number of the Emperor's forces, including the garisons all over his dominions, amounted to 145,000 men; and in the month of October, 1733, they were augmented to above 180,000. Her Hungarian majesty, at present, can hardly have fewer than this last number, to make head against so many different armies. As to naval force, it is but trifling when compar'd with the maritime powers, or even with France or Spain. Besides the gallies and small vessels on the Danube, employ'd in a war against the Turk, she has a few ships of the line at Trieste and Fiume, but without either sailors to man, or stores to equip them, which renders them entirely useless.

If we weigh the policy of the court of Vienna, Politics of as it is at present detach'd from the Imperial the court dignity, we shall find it to consist greatly in of Vienna, keeping well with us and the Dutch, and to be always fomenting a jealousy between us and the most Christian King. The necessity of preserving a balance of power, and the growing grandure of the house of Bourbon, which threatens to overturn it, are topicks that her ministers should never forget at the Hague and London. We see they have had their effect at the latter court, and upon most of those in the administration at the former. Her Hungarian majesty should likewise, if possible, keep the northern crowns in her interest, especially Poland and Russia, that they may assist her in case of an attack from the Turk: to prevent which, it is necessary she should have her emissaries at the

Perſian court, to prevent a good underſtanding between the Sultan and the Schah.

We ſhall now proceed to a more particular deſcription of the dominions of this Princeſs, beginning with Hungary, from which ſhe takes her firſt title, and the dependant provinces, Tranſilvania, Sclavonia, and Croatia.

Limits  
and extent  
of Hun-  
gary.

HUNGARY, properly ſo called, is bounded on the north by the Carpathian mountains, which ſeparate it from Poland, on the eaſt by Tranſilvania and Walachia, on the ſouth by Sclavonia, and on the weſt by Moravia, Auſtria, and Stiria. It extends from the 16th to the 23d degree of longitude eaſt of London, and from the 45th to near the 49th of latitude. This, indeed, is but a ſmall part of the ancient kingdom of Hungary, which included all the countries, on both ſides the Danube, from the borders of Germany and Italy to the mouth of that river, and the Black-ſea ; and from the Carpathian to the ſilver mountains, which ſeparated it from Macedonia and the ancient Thrace, now call'd Romania. Within theſe limits are now contain'd, beſides Hungary Proper, Croatia, Sclavonia, including Raſcia, and Tranſilvania, belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, and Boſnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Beſſarabia, and Moldavia, belonging to the Turks, with Walachia divided between them both.

Air, ſoil,  
and pro-  
duce.

The air of Hungary is unhealthy, chiefly to ſtrangers, and breeds ſuch an abundance of vermin, that it is not ſafe to encamp in one place above a month. The waters, except that of the Danube, are not good. Some ſprings, which increaſe and decreaſe with the moon, are even poiſonous : others have a petrifying quality, and others are ſalt. They have alſo baths, and medicinal waters. The ſoil is ſo very fruitful, that it

is thought Hungary alone, if kept in peace, and well cultivated, would nearly supply all Europe with corn. The pasture grounds are wonderfully good, and there is such a plenty of fowls, fishes, venison, and cattle, that the country people commonly live on wild boars and stags, and sometimes feed their hogs with fish. A thousand carps have been sold here under eight shillings, and more than 80,000 oxen have been driven in one year to Vienna. They have a good breed of horses, fit for expedition in war. They have also mines of salt, copper, tin, silver, and some gold. The richest are on the mountains between Buda and Strigonium, otherwise Gran.

The Hungarians are more inclined to war, Inhabitants. than to arts or trading. In their dispositions they are cruel, proud, revengeful, jealous of liberty ; yet so divided among themselves, that it is no wonder they have become a prey both to the Turks and Germans. The better sort speak several languages, and especially the Latin, which they use familiarly. They eat and drink to excess, and the common people are very nasty in their houses : but the gentlemen live nobly, and are great lovers of horses, hunting, and feasting. They are stately only in their gardens, and baths : for, provided their palaces are but large, they care not how ill they are furnished. Their chief nobility consisted formerly of about 77 counts, which in later times have been reduced to 60. They hate the Germans, and the peasants, it is thought, had rather live under the Turks than under them, because the Turks shew no regard to quality : but the same reason attaches the nobility, for the most part, to the house of Austria, notwithstanding a great deal of ill usage.



Forces.

The greatest strength of this kingdom consists in their light horse, called Hussars, whose use has been sufficiently experienced in the present war. Their infantry, called Heydukes, we seldom hear mentioned.

States.

The clergy, the barons, the nobles, and the royal or free towns, make four bodies or states, which constitute their diets. These, according to the laws of the country, are to meet once in three years. They had a right to elect their Bar or Palatine, till that office was suppressed by the late Emperor. He was always to be a native Hungarian, and had in him the whole direction of affairs, military and judicial. Croatia, tho' dependent on Hungary, had also a distinct Palatine.

Clergy  
and reli-  
gion.

Hungary has two archiepiscopal sees, at Gran and Colonitz; and sixteen bishoprics, five under the first, and eight under the second; besides three that are suffragan to the Archbishop of Spalato, in Dalmatia. The Hungarians were converted to Christianity about the year 1000, when their King, St Stephen, married Gisela, daughter of Henry surnamed also the Saint. In the 16th century the generality of them embraced the Protestant religion, chiefly according to the reformation of Luther; and only a few noble families kept to the Romish: but since the conquests of the Emperor Leopold, the Romish has again got the upper hand, and the Protestants there have been severely persecuted. There are also a mixture of Jews, Mahometans, Arians, and Unitarians.

Ancient  
history.

Julius Cæsar was the first who attacked Hungary, and Tiberius subdued it. The Goths afterwards took it, and this kingdom became a prey to the Huns and Lombards; who were turned out by the Hongres, a nation of Scythia,

thia, who are said to have lived mostly on blood. Balamer or Balamber is reckoned among its ancient Kings; as is also Aptar, the two brothers Bleda, and Attila, surnamed the Scourge of God, who died in 453, having left many traces of his expeditions in other parts of the world; such as Huningen, Hunaldstein, and many other places in Germany, beginning with the word Hun. These Huns were Scythians, mixed with Turks, Tartars, and Alans. Attila's children, by their divisions, lost their father's conquests.

About the year 744 the Huns made another Middle incursion into Pannonia (the ancient name of the <sup>history.</sup> country of which Hungary is now a part) under Alme, who had Arphad for his successor. Zultan, descended from Arphad, is said to have been the father of Toxis, and great grandfather of St Stephen, with whom begins the chronological succession of the Kings of Hungary. Since that, this people were peaceably governed by their own Kings, till the death of Lewis, whose daughter and heiress married Sigismund of Luxemburg, Emperor of Germany. The not liking of him, and calling in of Charles Duras King of Naples, and Stephen Vaivode of Transilvania, put Hungary into that unsettled state, in which it has almost ever since continued, and the history of which the reader has seen intermixed with that of the German Emperors, whose lives make the chief part of this work.

The Danube, or Donau, the greatest river in Rivers. Europe, runs thro' the midst of this kingdom. It rises at the foot of a mountain, in the Black Forest in Suabia; runs thro' that circle, Bavaria, and Austria, into Hungary, where it washes Presburg, Comorra, Gran, Buda, and so runs

on, by Belgrade, between Walachia and Servia, Bessarabia and Bulgaria, till it falls into the Black Sea by several great streams, with such rapidity, that its water continues fresh for 20 leagues. From the source to the mouth are reckon'd above 700 leagues, and all the way a very fine country. It receives 60 other rivers, 30 of which are navigable: the chief are the Leck, the Iser, the Inn, the Ens, the Moraw, the Waag, the Drave, the Save, and the Tibiscus or Teifs. It exceeds most other rivers both for length, breadth, depth, goodness of water, multitude and excellence of fish. The naval fights that have been upon it, between the Turks and the Imperialists, also make it renowned beyond any river besides. The Drave hath its source in the Alps, runs thro' Carinthia and Stiria, divides Lower Hungary from Slavonia, and falls into the Danube below Esseck. The Save rises in the Upper Carniola, separates Slavonia from Croatia, Bosnia, and Servia, and falls into the Danube at Belgrade. It touches no part of Proper Hungary, and is mentioned here only with the other principal rivers: but the Teifs hath its whole course in Upper Hungary, and joins the Danube over against Salankemen. Other rivers of less note are the Raab, which forms an island of the same name, the Marisch, the Waag, and the Gran.

Petersburg.

In Upper Hungary, which lies on the north side of the Danube, we have first Peterburg, the capital, which gives name to a province. This was made the place of convention for the States, after the loss of Gran to the Turks, and so is still continued. The city is pleasant, the castle stately, well situate on the top of a hill, and all built of white stone. In it is kept the crown of Hungary, traditionally said to be brought by an



an angel from heaven to St Stephen, and of a different form from all other crowns. The garden of the prelate, the walks, the grotto, the labyrinth, the figure of St Jerom, the fish-ponds and fountains, are all very noble. The jesuits have a part in the cathedral, where they keep a curious dispensary ; and the Lutherans have also a noble church in the city. Presburg stands 46 miles east of Vienna, 95 almost north-west of Buda, and in latitude 48 degrees 25 minutes.

Neuhausel, upon the river Neutra, is little, but strong, and the capital of a large country. It is built in a moorish plain, which is hard at the bottom, and therefore every where passable. Its fortifications are in form of a star, with six rays, having each a high rais'd bastion at the point : only two gates, and before each of them a half moon, without any other outworks. Cashaw, or Cassovia, the capital when this country was under the Turks, stands 40 miles north-east of Buda, upon the river Tareza, which empties itself into the Teifs. It is well fortified, and furnish'd with a plentiful magazine. Agria stands upon a river of the same name, between Buda and Cashaw, and, tho' small, is one of the best fortresses in Hungary. Colocza, on the Danube, 54 miles south-east of Buda, is in a declining condition. Zolnock, upon the Tibiscus, between Buda and Great Waradin, is the capital of a county. Great Waradin, upon the river Kerez, 114 miles distant from Buda, and upon the borders of Transilvania, has a strong castle, with good ramparts, five royal bastions, and a regular ditch. Segedin, on the Teifs, 104 miles south-east of Buda, is a place of no great force. Temeswar, not properly in Hungary, tho' commonly so reckon'd, is the capital of a country called the Bannat of Temeswar. It stands on the

Other towns in Upper Hungary.

the river Temes, and is both very large, and very strong; distant from Buda 160 miles south-east. Giulia, a small fortified city, stands 28 miles south of Great Waradin. Mongatz is a fortress on a steep rock, with a town at the foot of it, well surrounded with a ditch, and render'd almost impregnable by a marsh. I mentioned the obstinate defence of this place by the Princess Ragotzi, count Tekeli's lady. It stands 126 miles north-east of Buda; and 25 miles to the south-west of it is Zatmar, a little strong town in the mountains. Unghwar lies at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, and is more considerable for strength and situation than for magnitude. Some historians pretend, that this town gave name to the whole kingdom. It stands 18 miles north-west of Mongatz. Novigrad, an exceeding strong fortress, makes almost a triangle with Gran and Buda. Pest, on the north of the Danube, over against Buda, to which it is joined by a fine bridge of boats half a mile long, affords a delightful prospect of that capital. Esperies, famous for its fairs and salt mines, stands on the river Tarkzal, 15 miles north of Cashaw. Tokay, in an island made by the rivers Teiss and Bodroch, is very strong, and noted for the richest wines in Europe. Kallo stands in a small lake, 24 miles south-east of Tokay. Titul is a strong fortification, near the mouth of the Teiss; and higher up stands Zenta, famous for the victory won there by Prince Eugene. Leopoldstadt, a very strong city, about 50 miles north-east of Presburg, derives its name from the Emperor Leopold.

Buda.

In Lower Hungary we have Buda or Offen for the capital; formerly the residence of the Hungarian monarchs, because of its pleasant situation. Sigismund King of Hungary, and afterwards Emperor

Emperor, beautified it with several sumptuous palaces, and erected the castle, where afterwards his successors kept their court. But while the Turks had it in possession, which was upwards of 140 years, before the Duke of Lorrain retook it in 1686, they suffer'd the finest buildings to fall to ruins. It stands upon a mountain, which makes the situation very advantageous. The lower city, call'd Wasserstadt, or town of the Jews extends like a suburb from the upper city to the Danube. The upper city takes up all the declivity of the mountain, and is fortified with good walls, which have towers at certain distances after the antient manner. The castle is at the extremity of the hill eastward, upon an eminence which commands the greatest part of it. It is surrounded with a very deep ditch, defended with old fashion'd towers, and some modern fortifications. Buda stands 135 miles almost south-east of Vienna, and 165 north-west of Belgrade.

Strigonium, or Gran, in a plain upon the Danube, 28 miles north-east of Buda, is commanded by a good castle upon a neighbouring mountain. The cathedral, whose Archbishop is primate, chancellor, and president of the council of the kingdom of Hungary, stands in the castle. This was formerly the city where the diet assembled. Alba Regalis, or Stuhl Weissenburg, is seated upon the river Sarwitze, near the Platten sea, or lake Calaton. It was famous formerly for the coronations and sepulchres of the Kings of Hungary. When the Germans last retook it, in 1688, they found it fortified with three bastions, the rest of the town being cover'd with a morass. It lies 40 miles south-west of Buda. Comorra is a very strong, rich, and populous town, situate in the island of Schutz, where

Other towns in Lower Hungary.



where the Danube reunites into one river. It stands 74 miles almost east of Vienna, and has a line drawn from the southern to the northern branch of the Danube, defended with four bastions. Raab,\* or Javarin, 34 miles south-east from Presburg, and as many south-west from Gran, is but a small city, yet strong. Vespriin, 13 miles west of Alba-Regalis, is both strong and populous. Kanischa, one of the strongest towns in these parts, stands near the Drave, upon the borders of Stiria, 58 miles south-west of Alba-Regalis. Sigeth, 64 miles east of Kanischa, has a very good castle, and is fortified with three walls, and as many ditches. Funf-kirken, or Five Churches, 32 miles south-east of Sigeth, is a place of no great strength. Mohatz, about as much below Colocza upon the Danube, is chiefly memorable for two great battles fought near it. Darda is a strong fort at the north of Esseck bridge, about 6 miles from Esseck. Many other places might be enumerated, whose names may occur in reading, but they are too inconsiderable for a work of this brevity.

Situation  
and de-  
scription  
of Tran-  
silvania.

TRANSILVANIA is a principality, and part of the antient Dacia. It has Hungary to the west, the Carpathian mountains to the north, Moldavia to the east, and Walachia to the south. It had its name from the Romans, on account of the forests and mountains that environ'd it. The Germans called it Sibenburgen, from the seven towns built there by the banish'd Saxons. Several other inhabitants settled in it; but the Saxons, who best cultivated the country, had the firmest footing. The Romans, under Trajan, became masters of it. After that it was united with the kingdom of Hungary; and, since the ruin of that kingdom, has been sometimes subject to the Turk, and sometimes to the house of Austria.

The

The plains are very fruitful in corn; the hills <sup>Fertility.</sup> cover'd with vines; and the mountains well stock'd with mines of gold, silver, and salt. There is also bitumen, with which the natives make torches, whose smoke is thought good to refresh the brain. In their woods they have great numbers of deer, bears, and extraordinary wild horses. Their waters, for the generality, are unwholesome, because they pass thro' mines of allum and mercury: there are some that taste like wine, and others that will petrify.

At this day the inhabitants consist of three na- <sup>Inhabi-</sup> tions; Saxons, who possess the province pro- <sup>tants.</sup> perly call'd the Seven-towns; Bulgarians, who dwell on the banks of the river Merish; and Hungarians, who have the south part towards Walachia, and profess the Grecian religion. These latter used to pay no tribute to the Princes of Transilvania, but in lieu thereof, were obliged to serve personally, at their own expences, in any war. I believe matters are now changed, since they have been subject to the court of Vienna.

The doctrines of Calvin and Luther were <sup>Religion.</sup> introduced here in 1561, under John Zapol, Count of Scepus, and Vaivode of Transilvania. It is said this Prince was successively Lutheran, Calvinist, and Arian. Stephen Bathori, Vaivode in 1571, afterwards chosen King of Poland, endeavoured to re-establish Popery; and to that end gave the government of this principality to his brother Christopher, who cast Francis David, the Calvinist minister, into prison, where he died mad. This Christopher Bathori founded a college of jesuits at Colaswar; but dying in 1583, his son Sigismund, who succeeded him, in order to sooth the Transilvanians, banished the whole order: which was, however, only a temporary

temporary expedient, for he recalled them two years after.

Govern-  
ment.

Transilvania is now incorporated with the kingdom of Hungary, since the death of Michael Abafi, the last elected and acknowledged Prince, in 1690. Sigismund, beforementioned, cast off his subjection to the Turks, and put himself under the protection of the Emperor Rodolph II, retiring himself to Prague, where he died not long after, his subjects having made an ineffectual effort in his favour. But the people, however, again revolted, and resumed their right of chusing their own Prince, or Vaivode, which they exercised the greatest part of the seventeenth century. Nay, even after Abafi's death, in the present age, we see them again possessed of this right, and defending it in the person of Prince Ragotzi, till that Prince, in 1711, being abandoned by his adherents, was forced to seek his safety by flight. From this time we may date the entire subjection of the Transilvanians to the house of Austria: so that the late Emperor, Charles VI, was the only Prince of that house peaceably possessed of that principality, as he was the first King of Hungary to whom that nation absolutely gave up their elective right, even in favour of his female issue.

Chief  
places.

Hermanstadt, called by the inhabitants Zeben, is the capital of Transilvania, and used to be the residence of the Prince. It is a large, populous, strong, well-built city, standing in a plain, on the river Cibiſ, 230 miles south-east of Buda, and 160 north-east of Belgrade. The inhabitants are Saxons. Weiſſemburg, or Alba Julia, stands on the river Meriſh, 34 miles west of Hermanstadt, and is the chief place belonging



ing to the Hungarians. It was once the capital of the Kings of Dacia, and at that time said to be twenty miles in circuit. Deva, about 28 miles south of Weissemburg, is remarkable for excellent wines, as also for the pass near it thro' the Iron-gate mountains. Cronstadt lies 50 miles north-east from Hermanstadt; is pleasantly situated among vineyards, and pretty well fortified. Clausenburg, on the river Samos, 60 miles north-west of Hermanstadt, is a populous city, and was formerly the place of meeting for the States of Hungary. It has an old citadel. Segeswar, upon the river Cockel, 40 miles almost north of Hermanstadt; Togares, 25 miles to the westward of Cronstadt; Agnabat, 25 miles north of Hermanstadt; Altemberg, 20 miles south-west of Weissemburg; Burgles, 28 miles almost north of Clausenburg; Bistricia, 80 miles north-west of Hermanstadt; Neumark, near 60 miles north-west from the same city, and at present the usual place of assembly for the States; are the other chief towns in Transilvania.

Next in course comes WALACHIA, that part Walachia, of it which belongs to the Austrian family, comprehended between the river Alauta on the east, the bannat of Temeswar on the west, the Iron-gate mountains on the north, and the Danube on the south. It was ceded to the late Emperor by the peace of Passarowitz, upon the terms of the *Uti possidetis*, but contains no considerable towns. The chief names we see in the maps are Tchernveck and Cragoce. The bannat of Temeswar is of much greater consequence, containing, besides the town of that name, already mentioned, the strong fortresses of New and Old Orlova, with that of Panzova, over against Belgrade, and several other towns.

What

Servia and  
Bosnia.

What the late Emperor possessed beyond the Save, in the provinces of SERVIA and BOSNIA, we have seen given up by the treaty of Belgrade, together with Belgrade itself, which, while it was held by the house of Austria, afforded a constant avenue into the Turkish dominions. Krozka, where the last famous battle was fought, is a small town in Servia, between Samedria and Belgrade, upon the direct road to Constantinople.

Situation  
of Scla-  
vonian.

SCLAVONIA anciently contained almost all those countries, between the Gulph of Venice and the Black Sea, that made up the south part of the kingdom of Hungary in its largest extent. Its language, at that time, extended over all the eastern parts of Europe, where it is still very much spoken: but the name of the country is at present confined between the rivers Save and Drave to the south and north, the province of Stiria to the west, and the Danube to the east. Some reduce it to narrower limits, and give to the east part the name of Rascia; the inhabitants of which indeed are well known, by the name of Rascians, in all the wars of the house of Austria: but I chuse to keep to the most common and known division.

Fertility,  
&c.

Slavonia is a level country, and has a fine air. It is exceedingly well watered, especially by the three great rivers that almost surround it. Many other streams, of short course, fall into these. This would undoubtedly render the country very fruitful, if the vicinity of the Turks did not discourage the cultivation of the soil. But the inhabitants, for this reason, chuse rather to earn their livelihood in arms abroad, than to risk the produce of their labour to the incursions of an enemy at home. Otherwise they  
are

are a strong hale people, and fit for the toils of agriculture.

The Roman Catholic is here the establish'd Religion. religion, and, since this province has been under the house of Austria, has greatly the ascendant over the Grecian, which flourish'd under the Turkish government. So impolitic indeed has the court of Vienna been, as to suffer severity to prevail even in the new conquer'd provinces, which has driven many of the inhabitants, who would not submit to the new superstitions, to abandon their country, and fly for liberty of conscience among the professed enemies of Christianity. If her present Hungarian majesty, agreeable to the expectations of most people, should entirely relax on this article, and permit to all her subjects the open profession of all their respective faiths, it would more ingratiate her with them, and attach them more firmly to her, during her present troubles, than any other act of popularity.

Posega, the capital of Slavonia, stands upon Chief the Oriana, fifteen miles north of the Save, and places about 120 west of Belgrade. It contains about 1000 houses, is a place of good trade, and has 400 villages under its jurisdiction. The other principal towns are Gradiska, a strong place near the Save, about 50 miles to the west of Posega; Agram, also near the Save, and 26 miles north-east of Carlstadt in Croatia; Essek, upon the junction of the Drave and the Danube, famous chiefly for its bridge; Walcowar, above 20 miles to the South-east of Essek; Hock, about 10, and Carlowitz, about 15 miles further down the Danube. Peter-Waradin, still lower down, is a strong town, and was the frontier of the Turks, before the war in 1716. Salankemen, 15 miles south-east of Peter-Waradin, is famous



chiefly for the victory obtain'd there by Prince Lewis of Baden, in 1691 ; as is Carlowitz, beforemention'd, for the peace in 1699, and Passarowitz, for that in 1719, between the Turks and the Emperor. Semlin stands about midway between Salankemen and Belgrade. Besides these there are Brodt, Verovitza, Velika, and Warasdin, which are mention'd by geographers as places of some consideration.

Croatia.

CROATIA is bounded on the north-east by the river Save, which divides it from Slavonia ; on the east by Bosnia ; on the south-west and south by Morlachia, and on the west by Carniola. It produces plenty of good wine and oil, where it is cultivated : but being a frontier province, like Slavonia, labours under the same inconveniencies. The natives are of a good stature, and hardy soldiers ; for which they are so famous, that the German princes commonly have their guards composed of them, by the names of Croats, or Krabatz. The chief towns in this small province, are Carlstadt, on the river Culp, about 20 miles to the south of the Save, a pretty strong fortification ; Sifeg, upon the Save, 30 miles eastward of Carlstadt ; and Castanowitz, near the river Unna, 30 miles to the westward of Gradiska. Dubiza belongs to the Turks, tho' formerly reckon'd in this Province.

Morlachia.

MORLACHIA, a large tract of sea-coast, has also been made by some a part of Croatia ; but as it is a distinct name and government, and rather under the Queen of Hungary's protection than entirely subject to her, it deserves just to be separately mentioned. The Venetians hold here several towns ; but neither these, nor those which depend on the house of Austria, are considerable enough to deserve a particular description.



## C H A P. XII.

Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, described.



**B**OHEMIA, in its antient extent, com-  
prehended Lusatia, Silesia and Mora-  
via : but the first has been granted,  
by the house of Austria, to the electo-  
ral house of Saxony, and the second was lately  
conquer'd by the King of Prussia. Of Lusatia  
I shall say nothing, all claims to it being ex-  
tinguish'd by a voluntary cession and long te-  
nure. With Silesia it is different ; which, as it  
was wrested, and that so lately, from the present  
Queen, may perhaps become a fresh bone of  
contention, if ever the Austrian power should  
wholly recover. I begin with Bohemia Proper,  
which is bounded on the east by Moravia, and  
part of Silesia ; on the West by Voigtland, part  
of Franconia, and the Upper Palatinate ; on the  
south by Austria, and part of Bavaria ; and on  
the north by Silesia, Upper Lusatia, and Mil-  
nia. Its figure is pretty nearly circular, there  
being but little difference between the two dia-  
meters. The antient inhabitants are thought to  
have been a branch of the Germans ; and as to  
their modern history, so far as it is interwoven  
with that of the house of Austria, I have already  
given it in the course of this history.

The soil is generally fat and arable, and but  
in few places barren or sandy. They have many  
woods and forests, none of which are so large  
as to make any of the country uninhabitable.  
Their orchards and gardens are so well flock'd

with fruit, that they export great quantities to the neighbouring countries ; as they do also of saffron. They might have wine enough for their own use, stronger than that of Moravia, and equal in taste to that of Austria, were the inhabitants industrious : but it does not keep so long, and therefore they buy from their neighbours at a reasonable price. They have abundance of good meadows and pastures, and cattle, especially horses, of more than ordinary bulk and courage. Their hop-grounds produce more plentifully than in many other countries ; and their white and brown beer is so much valued, that 'tis exported into other parts of the empire. They have some salt-pits ; but the product not answering the charge, they are supplied from Misnia, and other places. They have rich mines of copper, silver, tin, iron, lead, sulphur, nitre, and make great quantities of glass and alum. Carbuncles, amethysts, jasper, and other precious stones, are found here pretty frequently. Tho' the air of the country be very cold, yet in some places it is so bad as to occasion contagious distempers.

Inhabi-  
tants.

National characters are not to be relied on, unless we take them with great latitude, and many exceptions. This I would have understood of the Hungarians, when I called them, after other writers, cruel and revengeful. With the same caution do I speak of the Bohemians, when I add to the best part of their character, their large stature, bodily strength, handsome proportion, subtlety, courage, and truth to their word ; that they are also reputed great gluttons, drunkards, and thieves ; which perhaps should be understood only of the meanest sort of them, and not of those in general. Their language is a dialect of the antient Slavonian, which



which was so copious and sweet, that their old law-givers commanded its true orthography and pronounciation to be for ever kept invariable: but most people of fashion, at this day, thro' their intercourse with the court of Vienna, speak High Dutch, which the common people also have intermix'd with their own language.

It was the Emperor Otho IV, who admitted Govern-  
the King of Bohemia into the number of Elec-ment.  
tors of the empire, in 1208; which was confirmed by the golden bull of Charles IV, in 1356. He did not assist at the diets, except at the election of an Emperor, or a King of the Romans, when his rank was next to the Elector of Cologne: but since the year 1708, the two last Emperors, as Kings of Bohemia, had their deputies regularly at Ratibon. The first government of Bohemia was ducal, till Ladislaus, in 1060, was crowned King by the Emperor Henry IV. The crown was for several centuries elective, but became hereditary to the house of Austria at the peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

As the Bohemians were long, after their con-Religion.  
version to Christianity, before they would own the Pope's supremacy; so were they some of the first, upon breaking forth of the new light, to throw it off. The history of the reformation, and the troubles that ensued thereupon, till they were entirely reduced to the house of Austria, has been already given, and I shall only add here, that in the confession of faith, presented to the Emperor in 1535, their doctrine agrees in substance with that of other Protestants; but that being entirely subdued by the house of Austria, and the nobility consenting to return to the Catholic church, that religion seems to be now as much established here as ever, few or none openly confessing the contrary.

Rivers.

The chief rivers of Bohemia are the Elbe, the Muldaw, and the Egra. The two latter empty themselves into the former. Both these, and the Oder and the Morau, rise in the mountains that environ this kingdom.

Description of Prague.

Prague, the metropolis of Bohemia, is pleasantly situated on the large river Muldaw, which falls into the Elbe ; in a fruitful country, encompass'd with stately courts and pleasant palaces, as if it were in the middle of an amphitheatre. The antient Bohemians called it Boioheim, as being their capital, and the present name came from the Slavonians. It is divided into three parts, called the old, the new, and the little city. The old town, on the east of the Muldaw, is very populous, and full of handsome, but old-fashion'd houses. Here stands the university, frequented by vast numbers of students, but not comparable to what it was in former ages, when, if we may believe Lewis du May, a German author, no less than 4000 pupils resided in it at once, under John Hufs the rector. Here are also several colleges and monasteries, especially one belonging to the Jesuits, which is very magnificent and stately. Prague is the only university in Bohemia, and still one of the most famous in Europe. Great numbers of Jews reside in a part of this quarter, which is from them denominated the Jews town. They are very rich, and trade in all sorts of commodities, especially in jewels and other precious stones. The new town was formerly separated from the old by a wall, but now only by a ditch, into which they can let the river at pleasure. Here are the ruins of the antient regal palace, the walls of which are so cemented, that they can scarce be demolished by any engine. The Jesuits have also a college here, which much exceeds that

that in the old town for excellent architecture, and beautiful statues. The lesser town lies on the west of the Muldaw, and far surpasses the old in pleasantness and buildings. It joins to the old town by a bridge of 16 arches, being in all 1700 feet long, and 35 broad, with two large gates, under two large towers, one at each end. Part of this town is built on a rising ground, at the top of which stands Upper Prague, where the Queen has a summer-house, and a very magnificent palace, the residence of her ancestors, when they came to Prague. The most remarkable other buildings are the cathedral of St Veit, the palaces of Coloredo and Wallestein, the famous clock in the town-house, and the great column in the market-place. Near this city is the White-hill, upon which was fought the decisive battle between Frederick Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, and the Imperial forces under Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, by which the former lost not only his kingdom, but his electorate.

If we except Rome, Paris, and London, Baron Character Polnitz assures us there is no city where there are of the more gentry, nor a gentry that is more wealthy. people at Prague. Every body here lives grand, and those who can keep great state; yet are polite and civil to strangers, whom they know to be persons of quality. The ladies are very aimable. Gaming, and that at high rates, is the universal pleasure of both men and women. They have also a great genius for music, and maintain a tolerable Italian opera. In winter they have much masquerading, and balls that are extremely splendid.

Egra stands on the river of that name, near the borders of the Upper Palatinate, to which it formerly belong'd, and about 77 miles west from Prague. It is fortified with a double, and in some parts with a treble wall, and a very



strong castle. The market-place is furrounded with stately buildings, and the churches, in particular, are very fine. Budweis, near the Muldaw, 62 miles south from Prague, is one of the strongest towns in Bohemia. Kuttenberg, 30 miles east from Prague, is noted for the mines in its neighbourhood. Czaflaw, 37 miles south-east from Prague, was distinguished, before the last battle, for being the burying-place of John Zisca. Janikaw, 12 miles south from Czaflaw, is also famous for a battle in 1643. Koningratz, 45 miles north-east from Prague, is a pretty large town. Glatz, 35 miles farther north-east, has a good castle, and is capital of a district containing 9 towns, and 100 villages, with which it was ceded to the King of Prussia by the peace of Breslau. Elnbogen, a few miles to the north-east of Egra, is reckoned one of the keys of Bohemia, and has near it Carelstadt, noted for its baths and medicinal waters. Pilsen, 40 miles south-west from Prague, is a large, strong, and well fortified city, upon the conflux of two small rivers, and in one of the most fertile parts of all Bohemia. Tabor, upon the river Lahnick, was built by the Hussites, and made exceeding strong. It stands 42 miles almost south from Prague. Letomeritz, upon the Elbe, about 41 miles north-east from Prague, is a very rich town. Satz, or Ziateck, where the Austrians lately prevented the junction of the French armies, is both strong and populous: it is from Prague 37 miles. Codan, upon the same river Egra, is noted for its excellent beer. Other chief places are Karlstein, Melnick, Bude-law, Plana, Teyn, Beraun, Falknau, Wadnian, Rosenbergh, Domassin, Chrudim, Lissa, and Tornow.—— I should have mentioned, that as Bohemia is divided into circles, many of the

the cities here enumerated are heads of their respective districts, to which they give name: but to be too particular, in descriptions of this nature, is rather tiresome than entertaining: I proceed therefore to Moravia and Silesia, the other two provinces that descended to her Hungarian majesty with the crown of Bohemia.

MORAVIA is usually mentioned before Silesia, because, tho' it be now a marquisate only, it was anciently a kingdom, and has been longer incorporated with Bohemia than Silesia has been. Historians date this union in 1048, whereas that of Silesia did not happen till 1322, when the Emperor Henry VII obtain'd the cession of it from Casimir the Great King of Poland. Some authors derive the name of Moravia from *Mahren*, a mare, because the country is noted for breeding of horses; but it comes more probably from the river Morau, or March, which runs thro' the middle of the country, was formerly the border of the German Empire on that side, and gave the name of Marcomanni to the ancient inhabitants. It has Silesia on the north and north-east, Hungary on the east, Austria on the south, and Bohemia on the west. The chief rivers that water it, are the Morau, already mentioned, on which stand the greatest part of the large towns, and the Teya, which, after receiving several smaller streams, falls into the Morau, upon the borders of Austria. Both these rivers abound with variety of fish.

Towards the north and west Moravia is thinly inhabited, and consists chiefly of mountains and forests; but on the sides of Austria and Hungary it abounds as much with fertile fields, towns, and villages, as most parts of the Empire. The water, especially what is found in

Name  
and bound-  
aries,  
&c. of  
Moravia.

Soil, pro-  
duce, &c.

in pits, is in many places unwholesome, on account of a mineral that gives a tincture not only to that, but even to their vegetables, and is frequently thought to occasion epidemical distempers. At the same time, however, they have several rich medicinal fountains, which are often a present remedy against those diseases. The country abounds with corn of all sorts, not only sufficient for their own consumption, but for exportation. Wine also, both red and white, they have in plenty. Oxen, horses, sheep, and goats, are here both numerous and good; but no asses, camels, or mules. One kind of beast, called a Rysowe, is peculiar to the forests of Moravia. It is about the size of a large bull-dog, and spotted like a panther: it preys by leaping suddenly upon deer, or other beasts. A kind of frankincense and myrrh, in great pieces, is frequently dug here out of the earth, and not uncommonly resembles some part of a human body.

Inhabitants.

As to the people, they are exemplary for obedience to their magistrates, brave in the field, and faithful to their promises; but at the same time they are much addicted to drink, and very credulous of old prophecies; tho' neither such drunkards, nor such bigots, as are to be found in some places. The character of the boors is, that they are thievish and barbarous; so that there is no travelling among them without arms. The better sort of people will own this, as a discredit to their country, and are themselves of a very free open conversation, neither easily provoked, nor, when provoked, easily appeased. They received the reformation early, but soon branched out into such a multitude of sects, who all virulently opposed each other, as gave the Emperor, Ferdinand II, an opportunity



opportunity of re-establishing Popery upon the ruins of it, not long after the battle of Prague. Of late a new spirit of reformation is broke forth among them, which pretty much resembles that of the Methodists in England. A great number of the converts to it, headed by one of the counts of Zinzendorf, have transported themselves, for the sake of liberty, to the British plantations. Their language, like the Bohemian, is a branch of the Slavonic; but the gentry speak High Dutch, as in most of the countries dependent on the house of Austria.

Olmütz, their metropolis, is a small city, neat Chief towns. and well built, upon the banks of the Morau, by which it has a trade with Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Silesia. It hath a small university, and a bishop under the archbishop of Prague. The situation of it is in latitude  $49^{\circ} 35''$ , about 80 miles almost north of Vienna. Brin, 30 miles south-west from Olmütz, seems to divide with it the pre-eminence, the courts of judicature for the country being held at both places alternately. It stands on the conflux of two small rivers, hath a strong castle on a neighbouring hill, and is otherwise very well fortified. Iglau, on the frontiers of Bohemia, near 40 miles west from Brin, stands on a little river of the same name, and is a large, well-built, strong town, the principal thorough-fare between Bohemia and Hungary. Znaim, near 30 miles south-west from Brin, stands in a pleasant soil, and is defended by a strong castle: but a neighbouring mountain, which overlooks it, renders it incapable of sustaining a long siege. Hradish, on the Morau, 30 miles south from Olmütz, and as many east from Brin, is a very considerable place. Cremser, not many years ago a poor village, is now one of the fairest cities in Moravia,

Moravia, occasion'd by its convenient situation, which made it the residence of the bishops of Olmutz.

Situation,  
soil, &c, of  
Silesia.

SILESIA, between Poland on the north-east, and Lusatia, Bohemia, and Moravia on the south-west, extends on both sides the river Oder from the Carpathian mountains, where it rises, to the borders of Brandenburg. On the side next to Bohemia are many infertile mountains; but the rest of the country is good soil, and produces corn, wine, madder, and flax in abundance. There are mines of silver, the richest in all Germany, and others of copper, lead, iron, and saltpetre. The Vistula, which is the chief river of Poland, springs in the southern confines of this province, not far from the head of the Oder: many small rivers also rise in it, and empty themselves into the latter, which swells it to a large navigable stream in a short space. The meadows here have cattle, the forests venison, and the rivers fish, all in great plenty. The people have a good manufacture in linen, with which they traffick to most parts of Europe, and particularly to England.

Division.

Cluver divides this duchy into 16 principalities, or lesser duchies; Breslau, Glogau, Sagan, Schweidnitz, Lignitz, Brieg, Neiss, Crossen, Oppelen, Ratibor, Munsterberg, Jaur, Oelse, Jegerndorf, Teschen, and Troppau. Of these, till very lately, only Crossen belong'd to the King of Prussia, Oppelen to the crown of Poland, and the rest, except some particular lordships, to the house of Austria. But the great change that has happen'd within these two years, occasion'd by an unsatisfied claim of his Prussian majesty, has left only the two latter districts, Teschen and Troppau, to the ancient possessors. I have already given a brief account of this revolution.

Matthias

Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, was History.  
for some time lieutenant of Silesia; but that post  
was afterwards confer'd on the bishops of Breslau,  
till the Emperor Rodolph II order'd that some  
temporal Prince of the country, with the officers  
under him for determining law suits, should be  
appointed by the council at Prague. In this form  
hath the government since continued, till the  
late reduction of the whole country. As to re-  
ligion, Christianity was planted here, as in Po-  
land, about the end of the 9th or beginning of the  
10th century. For some time the new con-  
verts worshiped in private, for fear of their  
magistrates, till the court turn'd Christian in  
965, when nine bishoprics were here erected.  
Soon after Luther's appearance, they embraced  
the Augsbург confession, which was confirmed  
by the Emperor Rodolph in 1609: but Ferdi-  
nand II repeal'd their charter, and very much  
restrain'd the exercise of their religion. It was  
restored again by the peace of Westphalia, and  
again invaded by the Austrian family, till the  
late King of Sweden, in 1707, obliged the Em-  
peror Joseph to make fresh concessions. Since  
that time these have been virtually revok'd, by  
degrees, till the falling under a Protestant master  
procured the Silesians free liberty of conscience,  
both for Calvinists and Lutherans.

The particular duchies of Teschen and Trop- Teschen  
pau lie to the southward of Silesia, bordering and Trop-  
upon Moravia and Hungary, and are inhabited pau.  
by a rougher sort of people than the other Sile-  
sians, who speak a mixed language, scarce intel-  
ligible to any but themselves. The miners of  
Teschen, especially, who work in the Carpa-  
thian mountains, are a race that may be com-  
pared with those in Cornwall, or with our  
colliers. At the capital town they brew a plea-  
sant



fant strong beer, in the use of which they are far from being sparing. Their worship is in Bohemian and High Dutch, most of them being originally of one those countries. They carry on a considerable trade with Hungary, from whence they bring wine and fruit, in exchange for their venison, wild fowl, and fish. Troppau is a very old town, and has a fortress built after the ancient manner.

Jegerndorf.

Fourteen miles almost west of Troppau, upon the same river Oppau, stands Jegerndorf, capital of the duchy of that name. It was given by Lewis King of Hungary and Bohemia to George marquis of Brandenburg, who built a castle and other fortifications to defend the town, which is very small. From this gift, and the after possession of the house of Austria, the King of Prussia form'd that claim which gave rise to the late Silesian war; which is, indeed, the chief thing that makes Jegerndorf considerable, except that it was formerly famous for huntsmen, and from thence derived its appellation.

Crossen and Oppelen.

I shall say nothing particular of the other duchies, but only to inform the reader, that Crossen was first mortgaged to the electoral house of Brandenburg, and afterwards finally deliver'd up, and the full possession confirmed, by the Emperor Ferdinand I; and that Oppelen devolved to the Poles also by a mortgage, to whom the Emperor Ferdinand III made an absolute surrender in 1647, by drawing off all his forces. The capitals of these two districts are both of them considerable. Crossen in particular, near 30 miles south of Frankfort upon the Oder, is ancient, and, besides the ducal palace, hath several goodly buildings. Oppelen lies 40 miles south-east of Breslau; has a bridge over the Oder; is fortified with thick walls, and strong gates;

gates; and has 12 other towns under it, most of the inhabitants of which speak the Polish language.

Breslau, the capital of the whole country, Breslau, stands upon the Oder, 120 miles almost north- and the east from Prague; is a very large, well fortified, other ci- and well built city, the see of a bishop, and the ties of Si- lesia. seat of an university. It is a free corporation, govern'd by a council of 15 senators, 11 of whom are noblemen, and the other four chosen out of the companies of drapers, mercers, brewers, and butchers. The citizens are rich, and carry on a good trade. Glogau, called the Great, to distinguish it from a small town of the same name, is regularly fortified, and has a strong castle, which the Prussians took by storm at their irruption into Silesia. It lies 55 miles north-west of Breslau, and 40 south-east of Crossen. Sagan, about 20 miles west from Glogau, was once one of the most populous and largest cities of Silesia, but is now very much decay'd. Lignitz, 30 miles north-west of Breslau, hath a strong and noble castle, and an hospital and town-house worth seeing. Wolaw, 26 miles north-west of Lignitz, is small and inconsiderable. Oelse, a neat, uniform, well-built city, 15 miles north-east of Breslau, had its fortifications demolished by the Swedes in 1648. Jawer stands in a pleasant valley, 30 miles almost west of Breslau, and is fortified with high ramparts, deep ditches, and a castle. Schweidnitz, 20 miles south-east of Jawer, is also well fortified, and may pass for one of the finest cities in Silesia. Munsterberg and Grotkau, both about 30 miles to the southward of Breslau, are neither of them considerable. Ratibor, upon the Oder, 35 miles south of Oppelen, is a pretty good city, and stands in a pleasant plain. In most of these

towns the private houses are of wood, and the public buildings of stone.



### C H A P. XIII.

The archduchy of AUSTRIA, and the countries dependent on it.

Boundaries.



AUSTRIA has Hungary to the east, Moravia and a great part of Bohemia to the north, Stiria and the archbishopric of Saltzburg to the south, and Bavaria to the west. It is divided into the Upper, next to Bavaria, and the Lower, which extends to Hungary; so called from the course of the river Danube, which divides it from west to east. In this definition I include the archduchy only: for if we take in the whole circle, almost all of it subject to her Hungarian majesty, Slavonia comes in for part of the eastern, and Switzerland of the western boundary; as the dominions of Venice, and the Adriatic sea, wholly confine it on the south. Within this compass are included Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tirolese, and the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen.

Name, &c.

The archduchy of Austria, properly so called, was the Pannonia Superior of the ancients. Its present name of Oostrich, or eastern kingdom, in Latin Austria, was given it by the Franks, because situated east from France. After the time of the Romans, it was a part of the kingdom of the Bavarians, and afterwards erected into a separate marquissate by the Emperor Otho



Otho I. It so continued till the house of Austria grew powerful, and honour'd it with the title of archduchy, which no other country in Europe bears. The Archduke, tho' not Emperor, is first councillor of the Empire, and can create barons and counts in any part of it. The Princes of this family cannot be disseized of their estates, even by the Emperor himself; and, in case of the failure of male issue, the husband of the eldest daughter, who succeeds to the inheritance, may enjoy the dignity and privileges of Archduke. That dignity and those privileges, therefore, at this day, belong to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Austria, in the general, is a very plentiful Soil, air, country, bearing a great quantity of wine and <sup>&c.</sup> saffron, besides corn, and all other necessaries for life in abundance. The air, however, is none of the most wholesome, and the Lower Austria especially is subject to noisome vapours, that are apt to cause agues. To this some attribute the excessive drinking of the inhabitants, who are remarked for it by all their neighbouring provinces, tho' themselves not the most temperate.

Vienna, or Wien, is the chief town not only of Lower Austria, but of all the Queen of Hungary's dominions, and, till the death of the late Emperor, was reckon'd so of the whole Empire. It stands on the south side of the Danube, in 48 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, and in 14 degrees east longitude from London; distant from Buda 135 miles almost north-west; from Cracow 180 south-west; from Rome 400 north; from Amsterdam 560 almost east; from Paris 600 east; from Constantinople 830 almost west; and from London 730 almost east. Its situation is in a fine fruitful plain, where the

Situation,  
&c, of Vienna.

Danube divides itself, and forms several islands; and the small river Wien falls into it in the neighbourhood.

Strength.

The fortifications of Vienna are thought to be very good: and indeed, if we consider the hazard it has run, in four different sieges by the Turks, in the years 1529, 1532, 1543, and 1683, we shall not wonder at the care that has been taken of them. One of the islands of the Danube, called St Peter's, is large enough to hold a considerable army for its defence, in case of such imminent danger. Before the last siege there was a fine suburb, called Leopoldstadt, on the other side of the river, almost as large as the city: but it was then quite burnt to the ground.

Buildings.

Vienna, within the walls, is not three miles in circumference; but has still several large suburbs, which, as in all places near a court, are continually increasing by the fine houses of the nobility. The houses are built of stone, five or six stories high, and the streets are narrow. The regal palace has nothing to boast of; for the apartments are low, dark, and without ornaments. The furniture is very ancient, tho' scarce any Prince has a finer treasury in tapestry. Baron Polnitz says, that the Empress dowager's apartments were the only ones fit to lodge in: for that Princess took care to have them not only raised, but wainscoted, and hung with black velvet; it being the custom of the court of Vienna, for the Empress dowagers never to quit their mourning.

The palace of La Favourita, &c.

The palace of La Favourita, in the suburb of Vienna, where the late Emperor used to spend the summer, is even inferior to that in the city. 'Tis a very large house, built upon the highway, without any court before it, without symmetry

metry or architecture, and which, as to the outside, looks more like a convent than a royal palace. The inside perfectly answers the outside : there is an ascent to the apartments by a great stair-case, all of timber, that leads to the guard-chamber, which is a room of no great extent, and without any manner of ornaments ; and from thence there is an entrance into other apartments, but half furnished, and very low. The gardens of the palace are as inconsiderable as the building, they being full of large fruit-trees, but in very bad order. In a word, there is nothing that can be called a fine prospect. Mean time the court nobility are far from being so ill lodged as their Sovereign : for they have all stately houses, both in the city and suburbs. The late Prince Eugene's palace, in particular, exceeds most in Europe, both for magnificence of building, and the elegance and richness of the furniture. The Prat, an island in a wood formed by the river, is a place mightily frequented in fine weather, and may be called the Mall of this city.

The court of Vienna is at once the plainest, The court and the most magnificent in Europe. Nothing of Vi- could be more dismal than the appearance of enna. the late Emperor's household. His liveries were of black cloth, with a lace of yellow and white silk. The clothing of his guards, which were not numerous, was much the same. But then, considering the vast number of great and petty officers, of noblemen who spent high, and even of Princes of foreign families, in the service of his Imperial majesty, there was no other court so splendid as that of Vienna : nor can there be a more sudden transition from the meanest to the most stately external appearance, than there is here on solemn days, especially in those holi-  
C c 2 days



days which they call *Gala*, when they even encumber themselves with magnificence, and daily shine at operas and comedies.

The university, library, &c.

Vienna is an archbishopric, and the cathedral church of St Stephen a magnificent ancient building, but dark. The university in this city is inferior to few, either in point of antiquity, the number of students, or their accommodations and privileges. The royal library is in the highest esteem, containing, it is said, upwards of fourscore thousand volumes; and, among the rest, the manuscripts in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, Coptic, and Chinese, are not to be parallel'd in the world: particularly there is a fair Greek manuscript of the New Testament, written fifteen hundred years ago, in gold letters upon purple. Here are also many thousand Greek, Roman, and Gothic coins and medals; besides which the Queen has a collection of numberless curiosities in art and nature, made in a long series of years by her ancestors, the catalogue of which amounts to a large folio.

I cannot resist the temptation, which the author last quoted, Baron Polnitz, has here thrown in my way, of inserting a sketch of the characters of the Austrians in general, and the several ranks and sexes of them in particular. The drawing is modern, and the originals cannot have much varied since the latter end of the late Emperor's reign, when the Baron wrote his memoirs.

Character of the young Austrians.

The Austrians, says he, are naturally proud and haughty, and expect all mankind should stoop to them. As their Sovereign is the first in rank among the Christian Princes, so they think theirs to be the chief nation in the world. Nothing is more vain or insupportable than a young Austrian, whose father is in any rank

at court. They are intoxicated with pride and presumption; and, as they know themselves to be rich, and their fathers to be great lords, they think they may despise all the world, and lay aside that courteous and polite behaviour which would so well become their birth. Yet what I here observe, concerning the young people, is not so universally true, as not to admit of great exceptions; which is the case of every thing asserted in the general.

The nobility of Austria, and of all the hereditary dominions, are so fond of the title of count, that the gentlemen beg and solicit it as eagerly, as if it was a great estate. It is well for them, that the dispatch of their patents does not cost much: for the greatest privilege which this brings them, is all a chimera. These counts may be said to hold the same rank, among the ancient counts of the Empire, as the King's secretaries in France do among the gentlemen of good families. As for gentlemen, they are so common here, that there are scarce any others to be seen. All the agents of the courts, and all the referendaries, procure themselves a title; tho' I know not why, because neither they nor their wives dare to rank themselves among the prime nobility. This madness of theirs to be enobled, says the Baron, is so common, and so easy to be gratified, that I have known a man, who was formerly messenger to the Emperor Joseph, purchase the title of baron, and his children begin to mix with the grand monde.

The burghers, and common sort of people, mimic the nobility as far as their purses will afford; and it may be said, that no nation in the world is so extravagant as this. Belly-cheer is one of those things, which the Austrians

think of most: they require a great many dishes, and those well cram'd. They are so very much accusom'd to this profusion of eatables, that I have known some young people in Austria affirm, they do not know what good eating is in France, because they do not serve up a couple of loins of veal in one dish. Different sorts of wine are what they are also much used to, which certainly is very expensive, because foreign wines pay considerable duties: yet nothing less will serve than eight or ten sorts of wine, and I have been at houses where there have been no less than eighteen. They place a note upon every plate, expressing the several sorts of wine at the beaufet.

The women.

He proceeds then to the Austrian women, who, he says, are rather handsome than pretty. They are tall, and well shaped. They walk well: but, when they curtesy, do it in such an aukward manner, that one would think their backs were in danger of breaking. In their dress they affect finery rather than a good fancy. Two or three excepted, there are none who lay on the red, much less the white, and patches are very little worn: in a word, they have nothing about them which denotes coquetry. As to their humour, they are reckoned frank, tho' not easily made familiar. They are naturally vain; and, like all German women, pretty reserved, and not so fond of gallantry, as they are of gaming, luxury, and magnificence. Such is their indolence, that they concern themselves no more about their household affairs, than if they were strangers. They know no books but their prayer-books, are extremely credulous, and give into all the externals of religion. This makes their conversation sometimes insipid, and, unless now and then a love story falls in, rain  
and



and fair weather are their general topics. They have at least as great a conceit of Vienna, as the Parisians have of Paris : for out of Vienna they think there is no happiness. But all these little defects are repaired by an uncommon greatness of soul and generosity. They are hearty friends, and warm protectors of those whose interest they espouse. When they are in love, their passion is sincere ; and instead of ruining their lovers, there are some who have made the fortunes of those to whom they have taken a fancy.

Ladies of the first rank at Vienna usually rise late. As soon as their eyes are open they call for chocolate, and send to their husbands to know whom they have invited to dinner, and whether there is room for any more guests. If the lady does not like the company, she sends to some lady of her acquaintance, that she intends to dine with her : but if there be room at home, as a polite husband always takes care to leave some at the disposal of his wife, she sends an invitation to whom she pleases. After this she dresses, and goes to mass : for here the ladies are all so devout, that there is none but what hears at least one mass in the day. There they read in five or six different prayer-books, kiss all the pictures that are at the head of the prayers, and very devoutly toss their beads. After the office is over, they commonly chat a quarter of an hour in the church : then they go abroad, and make some friendly visits, or else go home to receive them. At these visits they hear all the news in Vienna : and while they last, they have each a little box of Indian-lack upon their knees, in which they thread gold till dinner time. When that is over, they drink coffee, or play at quinze till night, when they go to court. From the

royal apartments they adjourn to the assembly, where they divert themselves at piquet, or at quadrille. Then they retire, undress themselves, go to supper, and thence to bed, well pleased to think with what indolence they have spun out the day.

Of the  
second  
class.

The women of the second class, in which I include the gentlewomen that have no titles of honour, as the wives of the assessors, referendaries, and agents of courts, discover such an air of plenty and prosperity, as is remarkably surprising. Their houses are richly furnished, and their tables are well served. If a referendary's wife has a mind to a tid-bit, no-body must offer to take it; and the best of every thing is what they are sure to lay their hands upon. — Thus far the Baron.

Other  
towns in  
Lower  
Austria.

Other principal towns in Lower Austria are thus described. Baden, about 15 miles south-west from Vienna, is a neat, little, walled town, seated in a plain, but nigh to a ridge of hills, and much resorted to for the baths. Haimburg, 36 miles east of Vienna, and 12 west of Presburg in Hungary, is noted chiefly for the remains of antiquity, which confirm it to have been once the metropolis of Austria. Tuln, an ancient town, 16 miles west of Vienna, is situate in one of the richest and fertilest parts of the province. Krems, about 30 miles west of Vienna, is a well-built, neat town, of considerable trade, especially at the two noted fairs, which continue 14 days each. Melck, a pleasant town, above 20 miles farther up the Danube, is supposed to have been formerly a Roman colony, and famous now for a Benedictine monastery near it. Neustadt, about 30 miles south of Vienna, is situate in a bog, and so well fortified, as to render it almost impregnable. St Polten, 32 miles

miles west from Vienna, is a pretty compact town. Pechlarn, 40 miles west of Vienna, is the remains only of an ancient town and fort. Bruch, upon the borders of Hungary, is noted for a yearly fair of cattle. Horn, 39 miles north-west of Vienna, is a strong fort. Ips, upon the Danube, lies 52 miles west of Vienna. Besides these, we have Closter-Nybourg, five or six miles only, and Trafinur, five or six and twenty miles west of the capital; Orth, Erd-bress, Mittelbach, Stain, Trobra, and others.

In Upper Austria we have Lintz, the capital, 95 miles almost west from Vienna, a strong, neat, genteel, delightful city; populous for the bigness, and of considerable trade. Ens is likewise a strong well-built city, 85 miles west of Vienna, and situate upon a river of the same name, which parts the two Austrias. Steyer, a neat and compact town, lies about ten miles north of Ens. Wels, as much south from Lintz, and Everding, near the same distance west, are also considerable. The latter is strong, and has two castles. Gemund, upon the mouth of the Draun, 22 miles south-west from Ens, has a pretty large trade in salt. Freystadt, upon the borders of Bohemia, 22 miles north of Ens, is famous for a palatable beer, and an annual fair. — I should not omit that, besides the Danube, which receives them, and the Ens, already mentioned, we have in the Austrias the rivers Er-laph, Trafen, Ips, Melck, March, Teya, Kampf; the course of some of which may be known from the towns denominated from them, tho' both they, and some places mention'd in this description, are too minute to be exprest in the map without confusion. The distances and bearings I have specified, from some principal known places,



places; will always suffice for the reader's direction.

Situation,  
soil,  
towns, &c,  
of Stiria.

Having done with Austria, I come to STIRIA, which, including the country of Cilley, is also part of the antient Pannonia Superior. It lies between Austria and the Save, and is divided, as well as Austria, into Upper and Lower, or Western and Eastern; according to the course of the Drave, which runs through it. On the north it is bounded by Austria, on the east by Hungary, on the south by Carniola and Slcavonia, and on the west by Carinthia and the archbishopric of Saltzburg. Some of this country is mountainous and barren; but in other places the soil yields corn, wines, and fruits, and the vallies afford great herds of cattle. As to towns, the capital, Gratz, lies 80 miles south of Vienna, upon the river Mur; is regularly fortified, and has a stately palace, once the archiducal residence. The Jesuits college here has the privilege of conferring degrees, which makes it reckon'd an university. Murach, upon the same river, a few miles south of Gratz, is a town of note. Rackelsberg, upon the Mur also, 30 miles south-west of Gratz, is a good fortification. Near the head of the same river we have Muran, and some miles south-east of it Judenburg, distant from Gratz 50 miles, and another archiducal seat. Pruck is likewise upon the Mur; Ceil, Hohenstein, and Hermaristein north of it; Marchburg and Pettau upon the Drave, and Cilley and Rain, in counties of the same name, between the Save and the Drave; Laben, 25 miles north-east from Judenburg; Secau, a castle and episcopal seat on the river Gayl, 40 miles west of Gratz; are also reckon'd among the principal places of Stiria.

CARNIOLA, between Stiria and the Venetian dominions, was the western part of Pannonia upon the Save, and the Mediterranean Noricum. It is a mountainous country, of a barren soil in many parts, but intermingled with pleasant valleys, that yield both corn and wine. The river Save, which runs cross the province, receives into it several small rivers, and among others the Laubach, upon which stands the capital of the same name, an episcopal city, 134 miles south-west of Vienna. It is a populous fine city, and defended with a good castle. Fifteen miles from it, towards the south, stands Upper Laubach, a considerable mart for Italian goods. Crainburg, which some make the capital, lies 20 miles north-west from Laubach, upon the banks of the Save, and is well fortified. Czirnitz is no otherwise considerable, than that it gives name to the lake on which it stands; which lake, at one season of the year, is full of water, that ascends from the bottom, and abounds with fish; but when the water sinks, the country people sow it with corn, which they have time to reap, and afterwards to turn in their cattle for a considerable space, before the springs rise again. Part of the duchy of Carniola, which borders upon Croatia, is called WINDISHMARK, where we find Metling, the capital, 25 miles east from the lake of Czirnitz, and chiefly known for its trade in swine; and Rudolphswerth, or Neustedel, a little antient town, 12 miles north-west from Metling, and not far distant from the Save, noted for the hot baths in its neighbourhood. In the southern part of Carniola, bordering upon Trioli, and sometimes reckon'd a part of it, is the country of Goritia, or Gortz, with a town of the same name, and the small province of Carstia, in which is the  
port

port of Trieste, upon the gulph of Venice. St Viet, another maritime town, tho' properly a part of Istria, should be remember'd here, as being subject to the house of Austria. It lies 20 miles south of Czirnitz.

Carin-  
thia, &c,  
described.

I proceed next to CARINTHIA, which lies on both sides the Drave, between the bishopric of Brixen on the west, Stiria on the east, Saltzburg on the north, Carniola and the State of Venice on the south. The chief town of this province is Clagenfurt, but a small distance remote from the banks of the Drave, and 124 miles south-west of Vienna. Here is also another St Viet, 10 miles north of Clagenfurt, and seated in a fruitful valley, at the confluence of two rivers. Gurk, upon a river of the same name, and eight miles north of St Viet, is an episcopal see, whose bishop commonly resides at another town call'd Strasburg. Volckmark and Levamund, both on the Drave, the latter at the mouth of the river Lavant, are places of some consideration. St Andrews, a small neat town, stands upon the Lavant. There are several places in Carinthia which belong to the bishop of Bamberg, particularly Villach, 25 miles south-west of St Viet, upon the Drave; Wolfsberg, upon the Lavant, and St Leonard near the same river. Freysack, 15 miles north from St Viet, belongs to the Archbishop of Saltzburg, and has a good castle. Draburg, so called from the Drave, on which it stands, lies in the eastern part of Carinthia. This duchy in general is mountainous, of a barren soil, and cold air. It has a great number of lakes, full of fish.

Tirol de-  
scribed,  
&c.

Geographers generally include the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen within the TIROLESE, which they make part of the ancient Rhatia. In this extent it is bounded by Bavaria and a part of Suabia.



Suabia on the north ; by Saltzburg, Carinthia, and the State of Venice to the east ; by the same State of Venice to the south, and by the Switz and Grisons to the west. But to speak only of the county of Tirol Proper, Brixen becomes part of its western, and Trent of its southern boundary. This country, tho' mountainous, has fine vallies interspersed. It has both mineral waters and mines. Besides the Inn, which is its chief river, it hath several smaller streams. Inspruck, upon the Inn, 64 miles south from Munich, is the capital, and has been an archiducal seat. Hall and Schwas, both upon the same river, are noted, one for the making of salt, the other for its mines. Stams, a famous monastery in the west of this country, is illustrious for its tombs and relics. Ombras, an English mile distant from Inspruck, is a very strong fort, and was a summer-seat of the Arch-duke's. Merana is a small city on the river Ersch, fifty miles south of Inspruck, near which is Tirol, an ancient castle, said to give name to the county. Other towns of note are, Pludentz, Schippernau, Ems, Landeck, and Kuffstain ; the latter a strong fortress upon the river Inn, near Bavaria.

TRENT, famous for the council held there, is Trent and situated in a pleasant valley, upon the river Brixen, Adige, 70 miles south from Inspruck, and 35 north from Verona. It is adorned with many stately palaces, beautiful churches, and sumptuous monasteries ; and is besides very well fortified. The inhabitants, as they lie on the road, speak both the German and the Italian tongues. The bishop is a Prince of the empire, but dependent on the house of Austria. Pozen, called by the Italians Bolzano, 25 miles north from Trent, is a good place of trade in this diocese. The Bishop of BRIXEN, tho' likewise a sovereign Prince, is

not wholly independent. His capital is small, and not very populous; but, as it lies on the road, is the station of some merchants between Germany and Italy. The bishop has several other towns.

Austrian  
estates in  
Suabia.

If we step out of the Tirolese by the north-west, near the lake of Constance, we come into Suabia, where the Queen of Hungary has several disunited territories. These, together, are by some authors called the Suabian Austria. The four forest towns, upon the Rhine, with the country contiguous to them, make the most considerable part of this estate. The names of these towns are Waldshut, Lauffenberg, Seckengen, and Rheinfelden. The first, while Friburg was under the French, was the seat of government. Above these, along the east shore of the Rhine, extends the Brisgow, in which are the two important fortresses of Friburg and Brisac, which have been so often taken and restored in the wars between France and the Empire. Hauenstein and Nellenberg, with the title of Langraviate, belong to the same illustrious family; as does also the city of Constance, the bishop of that title residing cross the lake of Mersburg. The Burgou, so called from a small town and an old castle, is situated partly upon the Danube, in a territory of considerable extent. Gunrsburg, a magnificent castle, is the usual residence of the Austrian governor. The other dominions belonging to that house are, part of the marquissate of Ortnau, and part of Hegou, with the title of Prince of Suabia. All these countries, if united, would make a large tract of land.

Bavaria.

Tho' it does not come so immediately into my plan, yet, as the seat of war is so fluctuating between Bavaria and the Austrian dominions, it may be expected I should say a word

or

or two of the former. This circle, to take it in the largest extent, joins on the south to the Tyrol; on the west to Bohemia, Stiria, and Carinthia; on the north to Bohemia and Franconia; and on the east to Franconia and Suabia. The archbishopric of Saltzburg is the south-eastern part, of which, as it has been neuter during the war, I am entirely silent. As to the rest, it is divided into Bavaria Proper, and the Upper Palatinate, both including some independent territories. Bavaria Proper is washed by several fine rivers, which fall into the Danube, its northern boundary. First, the Inn, eastward, towards Austria, upon which are the towns of Scharding, Braunau, Oettingen, Burghausen, Muldorf, and the strongest of all Wasserberg. Upon the Isar, which divides the duchy in the middle, are situate Munich, a fine city, adorn'd with a splendid palace, the Electoral residence; Landshut, formerly the ducal seat, Dingelsing, Landau, and many other towns. Upon the Line stands Landberg, with several places more. Upon the Danube, descending down from Donawert, we find Ingolstadt, upon the left hand bank, a strong fortress and celebrated university; Ratisbon, a free and imperial city, the usual place of meeting for the diet of the empire; Straubing, a considerable town; Deckendorf, and Instadt, over-against Passau, which is also free and imperial. The bishops of Passau and Ratisbon, tho' not sovereign in the cities of those names, have territories independent of the Elector; as has also the bishop of Freisingen, whose capital and district lie on the Isar. The duchy of Neuburg, belonging to the Elector Palatine, makes up the upper part of the circle of Bavaria, towards Suabia, and north of the Danube. It includes the towns of Lau-

ingen,



ingen, Höchstet, and several more. To the north of that, and bordering upon Franconia, is the principality of Sultzbach, whose Sovereign has just now succeeded to the electoral dignity on the Rhine. But the greatest part of the circle of Bavaria, north of the Danube, consists of the Upper Palatinate ; in which the chief rivers are Naab and Vils, and the chief towns Amberg, Newmark, Chamb, Averbach, and Leuchtenberg.



## C H A P. XIV.

### The Italian dominions.

General  
account  
of the Au-  
strian do-  
minions  
in Italy.



THE dominions of the house of Austria in Italy, at this time, are, the duchy of Milan, acquired from Philip King of Spain, in the general war ; that of Mantua, lapsed to the late Emperor, as a fief, upon the extinction of the ducal family ; and those of Parma and Placentia, granted him by treaty, in lieu of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, upon the death of the reigning duke, likewise the last of his family, and devolved accordingly. To these, in consequence of the Queen of Hungary's alliance with the Grand Duke, we may add Tuscany ; the succession of which was also granted at the end of the last Italian war, upon the death of John-Gaston de Medicis, in lieu of his hereditary duchy of Lorrain ; which succession took place some time after. I have also added in the map, Naples and Sicily, for reasons sufficiently obvious, tho' those kingdoms are now possess'd

possess'd by a Prince of the house of Bourbon.

MILAN, or the Milanese, is bounded on the north by Switzerland and the Grisons; on the east by the Venetian dominions and Mantua; on the south by Parma and the republic of Genoa, and on the west by Montferrat and Piedmont, now considered as one, since the cession of the former to the Duke of Savoy. It is a fine fertile country, exceedingly well watered, and brings in a revenue, for the magnitude of it, at least equal to any other province of her Hungarian majesty. The chief rivers, are the Po, which crosses it from west to east; the Tessino, which passing thro' the lake Maggiore, crosses it from north to south-east; the Adda, which, having passed the lake di Como, traverses it in the same manner; the Tanaro, the Staffora, and the Lambro. It is extremely populous, and consequently well improved, abounding particularly with vines and barley. Grass grows here so freely, that they sometimes cut four, and commonly three crops of hay in a year. The common division of it is into twelve parts, or territories.

This duchy has undergone many revolutions. Not to mention those more ancient, it may be sufficient to observe, that in the beginning of the 16th century, it was twice conquered by the French, and reconquered by the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles V, as I have related in their respective lives. At last Francis I, being taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, renounced all pretensions to it by the treaty of Cambray, in 1529. And upon the death of Francis Sforza, the then duke, which happened in 1535, it was, by Charles V, united for ever to the crown of Spain. In that state it continued, till the extinction

inction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, when the French took possession of it in the name of King Philip V. But they kept it a short time. Prince Eugene entirely drove them out in 1706 and 1707, since which it has been held by the two last Emperors, except when it was overrun in the year 1733 and 1734, and left by Charles VI to his daughter, the reigning sovereign.

Chief  
towns.

Milan, the capital, is supposed to contain 300,000 souls. It is very ancient, has been besieged above 40 times, and more than 20 taken, since it was built by the Gauls. It stands in the very center of the duchy, upon the river Olana, at the equal distance of about 15 miles from the Adda and the Tessino, 192 miles north-west from Rome, 84 almost west from Turin, and 168 west from Venice. Cremona, one of the strongest cities in Italy, stands 45 miles south-west of Milan. Lodi, strong and populous, is near midway between Milan and Cremona. Pavia, large, ancient, and very fine, stands only 15 miles south of Milan. Pizzighitone, also well fortified, is 37 miles almost east; and Novara, another good fortress, 28 miles west of the same capital. Besides these, we have Mortara, Sesti, Barlassi, Como, Vigevano, and many more good towns, all on the north of the river Po. And to the south of that river we have among others, Tortona, small but strong; Alexandria de Paglia, both strong and large, and Valenza, likewise strong, all between the distance from 30 to 40 miles of Milan.

Situation  
of Parma.

Parma and Placenza, between the Po and the Appenine mountains, are likewise enriched with all the products of a fertile soil, and a healthful air, which makes the inhabitants, for the generality, pretty long-lived. They have the Mi-  
lanese



lanese to the north and west, the State of Genoa to the south, and the Duchy of Modena to the east. After many changes and revolutions which this duchy had gone thro', it fell at last into the hands of the Pope, till Paul III, in 1541, created his nephew, or son, Peter-Lewis Farnese, Duke of Parma, under vassalage to the Holy See. In his family it continued till the death of the late Duke Antony, 1731, when the male issue of the house of Farnese was extinct : but the present Queen of Spain being of it, and consequently having a claim for her eldest son, Don Carlos, the eventual succession both of Parma and Tuscany, had been settled upon him, and guaranteed by most of the powers in Europe, during the Duke's life-time. It was thought proper, however, to alter this disposition, upon the conquest of Naples and Sicily : for the Emperor agreeing to cede those kingdoms to the Infant, his royal highness renounced his title to Parma in favour of his Imperial majesty, and to Tuscany in favour of the Duke of Lorrain.

The principal rivers in the Parmesan and the Rivers Placentin, besides the Po, which washes them all and along on the north, are, the Trebbia, which towns, runs from the State of Genoa thro' the duchy of Placenza ; the Tidone, on the west of the Trebbia ; the Nura, on the east of the Trebbia ; the Larda, which washes Fiorenzuolo ; the Parma, which washes the city of that name, and receives there the Baganza ; the Tarro, which passes by Belforte, receives the Stirone, and then, like all the rest here enumerated, empties itself into the Po. These rivers are too small to be expressed in a map of no large scale, as the towns are likewise too thick to be half of them mentioned. Parma, the chief of these, stands 26 miles south of Cremona, and 73 miles on

the same bearing from Milan. It is a large, pleasant, rich, populous, well fortified city, 3 miles in compass ; has a citadel, after the model of that at Antwerp ; an admirable theatre ; an university ; a gymnastic academy, and a noble palace. The inhabitants have the character of being particularly jealous in the way of amours. Piacenza, or Placentia, 24 miles almost north-west of Parma, is well fortified, and pleasant, but not over populous. The other places worthy of mention are, Belforte, Nibiano, Buffeto, Fiorenzuolo, Rossena, Campiano, Bardi, and the Borgos di San Domino, & di Val di Taro. Among these, the latter is thought the strongest fortress in the whole duchy of Parma.

Situation,  
&c, of the  
Mantuan.

The duchy of MANTUA is encompassed by the Milanese, the Modenese, the State of the Church, and the State of Venice. It abounds with corn, cattle, and fish ; and produces wine, but not the best tasted. The inhabitants make good cloth and tapestry, are expert horsemen, but have the character of being dull in matters of literature. I have more than once mention'd how little these general characters are to be relied on : yet perhaps, the situation and temperature of countries being considered, they will be found not altogether unjust, nor even unaccountable. This country, with the title of a marquisate, came to the family of the Gonzagua's in 1431, and in 1531 Charles V erected it into a dukedom. It continued so, an independent sovereignty, except in times of war, when the dominions of weak Princes usually become a prey to the strong, till it was finally taken possession of by the late Emperor, as a fief of the Empire, upon the extinction of the ducal family of Gonzagua.

We find in this duchy two principal rivers, <sup>Rivers,</sup> besides the Po, which divides it from west to <sup>towns, &c.</sup> east. These are the Mincio, running southward from the lake de la Guarda, and the Secchia, that flows northward from the Modenese, both of them disemboing their waters into the Po, the common receptacle of all the lesser rivers in Lombardy. Within little more than half a century past there were six independent sovereignties within this small duchy; that of Guastalla, seized by the Duke of Mantua upon the death of one of the Princes; and those of Sabionetta, Bozolo, Castiglione, Solfarino, and Novellara. Which, how many, or whether any of them may yet remain so, I am not certain, such Princes not being considerable enough to be often mentioned, even in the journals. All their capitals were small fortresses, of the same names, which are ever ready to receive garisons from the strongest army, in times of an Italian war. As to Mantua itself, it stands upon a lake, or pool, made by the river Mincio, the waters of which surround it, and make it almost impregnable: distant from Milan 67 miles almost east, from Verona 21 miles almost south. It is a very ancient city, and, being thus strong by nature, requires no other fortifications than a common wall, and a citadel. These were found sufficient, in the last war, to employ the allied army till a peace was concluded. Goito, Rodelesco, Caneto, Borgoforte, Correggio, Governolo, Ostiglia, St Benedetto, and Luzzara, are other places of strength in this duchy. The latter, in particular, is distinguished by a famous battle fought near it, in 1702, between Prince Eugene and King Philip V.

The MODENESE being at present in the hands <sup>The du-</sup> of the Queen of Hungary, and the King of <sup>chy of</sup> Sardinia, Modena.



Sardinia, and having been hitherto the chief seat of action during the war in Italy, it may not be amiss to say a word or two of that duchy, which lies surrounded by the Mantuan, the Parmesan, the State of the Church, and the dominions of Tuscany and Lucca. It is considerably larger than Mantua, being 84 miles long, and 46 broad; a country of great fertility; and has been in possession of the house of Este ever since the year 1452. Its chief rivers are, the Secchia, beforementioned, and the Panaro, which divides it from the Bolognese, and the Ferrarese. Modena, the capital, 35 miles east by south from Parma, is a pretty large city, and, when the fortifications are kept in repair, strong, having considerable natural advantages. It stands on the river Secchia, in a plain, and is famous for its ancient school or university. Reggio is said to be pleasanter, and better built than Modena, from whence it is distant 18 miles almost west. It is a place of some strength, and has a pretty good citadel. Mirandola, 23 miles north of Modena, is small, but well fortified, and defended by a good castle. Other towns are, Bastia, Bersello, Carpi, Finale di Modena, Correggio, Castelnovo di Casagnan, Sestola, Sassuolo, Concordia, Pontemolino, Fanano, Scandiano, Piolo, and some few more: among which we may mention Campo Santo, near the river Panaro, on account of a battle lately fought there between the Austrians and Spaniards.

The  
Grand  
Duchy of  
Tuscany.

Out of three famous republics, those of Florence, Sienna, and Pisa, was formed the present Grand Duchy of Tuscany. It is near two thirds surrounded by the Ecclesiastical State, and the other parts by the Mediterranean sea and the republic of Lucca. It contains the greatest part  
of

of the ancient *Hetruria*, and is divided into 10 provinces. The soil is generally good, and the inhabitants genteel and polite. They are thought to speak the purest Italian. The *de Medicis*, Grand Dukes of Tuscany, were great encouragers of the learned Greeks upon their exile, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and thereby contributed much to the revival of learning in the west. Of later times they have been accused much of taxing severely their subjects, which made the income of this sovereignty equal to many of larger extent. I have already given, in a table, the dimensions of all the provinces subject to the Queen of Hungary, including among them the Grand Duchy, as belonging to her consort. For this reason I neither here, nor in any other part of this geographical description, set down the length and breadth of the country I describe ; and for longitude and latitude, where not mentioned, the reader need only consult the map. The chief towns in Tuscany are, Florence, a large, rich, and magnificent city, compared by some authors to Prague in Bohemia ; Leghorn, a place of great trade, and very much frequented by the English in particular ; Pisa, capital of the district of Pisano ; Sienna, Mont Alcino, Pistoia, Filattera, Massa, Radicofani, and the Spanish garisons of Porte Ercoli, Piombino, and Orbitello ; and the chief river, Arno.

NAPLES and SICILY, since the dissolution of Naples the Roman Empire, have sometimes been sub- and Si-  
ject to Princes of their own, and, at others, pro- cily.  
vinces to the more powerful monarchs of Europe. Naples contains all that part of Italy, that lies beyond the Ecclesiastical State, and is washed on three sides by the sea. It is in length 340 miles, and in breadth 120 ; the whole di-

vided into 12 provinces. The Kings of Spain had long been possessed of that, as well as of Sicily, till the death of King Charles II; after which, and a long and expensive war, it was ceded to the late Emperor, who lost it again but a few years before his death. The chief towns are, Naples, extending a great way round a capacious bay, large, magnificent, and, beyond most others, delightful; Capua and Gaeta, both good fortresses; Aquila, Lanciano, Salerno, Manfredonia, Otranto, Tarento, Brindisi, Reggio, and St Severino. SICILY, under the same Prince, is the finest island of all the Mediterranean, and was anciently esteemed the garden of Italy. It is 200 miles long, 148 broad, and divided into three provinces. The Pope claims a sort of superiority over it; for which the monarchs in possession pay him a formal homage. This island lies south-west of the most southerly part of Naples, as that kingdom makes the south-east part of Italy. Each of them is famous for a burning mountain; that in Naples, near the capital, known by the name of Vesuvio, and that in Sicily, frequently celebrated by the ancients, by the name of Ætna. Syracuse, in the latter, so famous in antiquity for its magnitude, and the tyrants that reigned in it, is still a considerable city: but Palermo, which within these twenty years suffered severely from an earthquake, is esteemed the capital. It stands on the west, as Syracuse does on the east part of the island. Besides these they have Messina, Catania, Augusta, Patti, and Mazara. If one reflects only on what has happened within the present century, as related in the preceding history, it will not be thought a difficult thing, for a great naval power, such as ours, to give a new master to either or both of these kingdoms.





## C H A P. XV.

The Austrian Netherlands, &c, with a short account of the succession to Berg and Juliers.



**F**RANCE, at the conclusion of the last general peace, was left in possession of the province of Artois, part of Flanders and Hainault, and a small part of Luxemburg: the rest of the ten Catholic provinces, except what was held by the Dutch on the north, was given to the Emperor Charles VI, as heir of the house of Austria, and in consequence of the reduction of them by the arms of the allies. And by the treaty for settling the barrier in the Netherlands, between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the States General, concluded at Antwerp the 15th of November 1715, his Imperial and Catholic Majesty agreed that the States General should have a garison, entirely of their own troops, in the towns and castles of Namur and Tournay, and in the towns of Menin, Ypres, Furnes, Warneton, and Fort Knoque; and that in the town of Dendermond there should be a joint garison, the governor to be nominated by the Emperor. According to this regulation the Austrian Netherlands, at present, is bounded on the north by the Dutch parts of Flanders and Brabant, on the east by Germany, on the south by Lorrain, Champagne, French Hainault, and French Flanders, and on the west by the German ocean. They lie in a sort of triangular form, and are chiefly watered by the rivers Schelde, or Escaut, which, passing thro' the Cambresis, Hainault, and

and Flanders, falls into the sea a little below Antwerp; the Maese, which, running through Namur, Liege, and Gelderland, falls into the sea a little below Dort; and the Lys, which, coasting Artois and Flanders, empties itself into the Schelde at Ghent. Others of less note help to swell the waters of these.

Populouf-  
ness, &c.

This small spot of land is exceeding populous, full of excellent towns and villages, and plentifully endowed with all things necessary either for pleasure or profit. So very rich, that at one time, when the King of Spain was possess'd of the whole seventeen provinces, his revenue from thence alone was greater than that of any Prince in Christendom, the King of France only excepted. Of late, indeed, the charge of keeping what remains with such a great number of garisons, is perhaps equal to the income: yet is it now the richest vice-regency in Europe, the late Archduchess, governess, not having less than 50,000*l* per annum sterling. The Dutch always think it their interest to assist in keeping those provinces as a barrier to their own dominions against France, which is the reason of their being allow'd the garisons abovemention'd. Traffic, in these places, has always been pretty considerable, but is now nothing near so great as formerly, since the United Provinces have made such prodigious increase.

Towns in  
Flanders.

Flanders alone, according to computation, hath in it 35 walled towns, and 117 villages. Ghent, the capital, upon the junction of the Schelde and the Lys, is seven miles in compass within the walls, but rather in a decaying than a flourishing condition. The two rivers make 26 islands, which are joined together with 98 bridges. The citadel consists of four bastions; but the walls are of too great extent for the town to be strong. It stands 27 miles almost south

south-east of Antwerp, and 30 north-west of Brussels. Bruges, 8 miles from the sea, and 24 almost north-west from Ghent, is the second city in Austrian Flanders. It has its name from the great number of bridges, is 4 miles within the walls, tolerably populous, and fortified with works of earth, and deep ditches. Ostend, one of the Flemish ports, 35 miles almost west of Ghent, stands in the midst of a moorish ground, and is besides regularly fortified, which makes it one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands. Neuport, the next chief sea town belonging to the Queen of Hungary, is also strong, and has a good castle. It stands 40 miles west of Ghent. Ypres, 35 miles south-west of Ghent, is a well-built town, and thought to be almost impregnable. Tournay, on all sides surrounded with most pleasant fields, is another town of great strength, and has a noble castle. It stands upon the Schelde, 36 miles nigh south of Ghent. Oudenard, 16 miles south of Ghent, also on the Schelde, is both populous and strong: as is also Courtray, 26 miles south-west from the said capital. Other places of importance, belonging to her Hungarian majesty in Flanders, are Den-dermond, 12 miles east of Ghent; Dixmuyd, 9 miles south-east of Neuport, and Furnes, more considerable now than formerly, 9 miles almost north-west of Dixmuyd.

BRABANT, including the marquissate of Ant-Towns in werp, or the Holy Empire, is the next most Brabant. considerable province, and the greatest part of it subject to the court of Vienna. Here we have Brussels, the seat of government, a very large city, 30 miles south-east of Ghent. It is encompassed with a double wall, and deep ditches; stands on the river Senne, and hath large handsome streets, magnificent palaces, and a great number of religious houses and hospitals.

Louvain,



Louvain, the second city in the province, and one of the largest places in the Low-Countries, is pleasantly seated on the river Dyle, 15 miles east of Brussels. The walls are strong, have 11 gates thro', and 53 towers to adorn and defend them. Here is a famous university, containing 43 colleges, of which that of the Jesuits is the most eminent. Antwerp, situate in the district called the marquisate of the Holy Empire, which is properly a part of Brabant, tho' reckon'd one of the seventeen provinces, was formerly one of the most famous places in Europe, and is to this day a noble city, high 8 miles in compass. The figure of it resembles a bow, of which the river Schelde is the string. The walls are surprisngly large, strong, and beautiful; the streets strait and broad, and the buildings, in general, equal for magnificence to any in Europe. The citadel, about a mile in compass, is thought an incomparable work. It is a pentagon, composed of five royal bastions. Antwerp was once the chief emporium in the universe, and still carries on a considerable trade, tho' the mouth of the river Schelde, its harbour, is shut up by treaty, in compliment to the Dutch. It stands 24 miles north of Brussels, and 80 south of Amsterdam. Mechlin, or Malines, formerly Imperial, but of late years subject to the house of Austria, is another large, handsome, and strong town of the province of Brabant, situate within a territory of its own, 13 miles almost north of Brussels, and 14 south-east of Antwerp. In the same province we have Diest, Indoigne, Tirlemont, Santwhiet, Gemblours, and a great number of other considerable places.

I shall not mention the bishopric of Liege, as it is an independent sovereignty, subject to its own Prince, tho' surrounded by the dominions of the house of Austria. What remains for me

to describe are, the duchies of Luxemburg and Limburg, with part of Namur and Hainault. The chief towns of these I shall take as they rise, begining southward with Luxemburg itself, and proceeding to Montmedy, Bastoigne, Limburg, Namur, Charleroy, Mons, and Aeth, which are the places most worthy of notice, that remain to be described. As to places where battles were fought in the last war, and which are no otherwise considerable, I thought it sufficient to mark them in the map.

Luxemburg, or Lutzenburg, is situated near <sup>Towns in</sup> the little river Alstitz, the greatest part of it <sup>Luxem-</sup> upon the top of a hill ; surrounded with good <sup>burg, &c.</sup> walls, and other proper fortifications; of great extent, but the buildings not extraordinary. The old town, which in former times was a large and well-built city, is now only a suburb. It stands 100 miles south-east of Brussels. Montmedy, 32 miles west of Luxemburg, is a place of no great bigness, but of considerable strength. Bastoigne, 25 miles north-west from Luxemburg, is well built, and a town of great trade. Limburg, pleasantly situated upon a steep rock, which overlooks all the country, and at the bottom of which runs the river Weser, is but a small city, of no great trade, yet important on account of its strength. It lies 54 miles north of Luxemburg, and 70 almost east of Brussels. Namur, situated upon the Sambre, and near the Maese, lies between two mountains, and has a very strong castle. The inhabitants are rich; the town is pleasant, and strong beyond most others. It stands 32 miles south-east of Brussels. Charleroy, upon a mountain near the Sambre, stands 14 miles west of Namur, and is a good fortification, very modern. Mons, situated also on a hill, near the river Tulle, is large and well fortified. It has three ditches, with sluices, that

may drown the country round it, except on the eastern side, where they have good bastions. The buildings here are handsome, but the castle is old. It stands 27 miles south-west of Brussels. Aeth, upon the river Dender, is not large, but beautiful, rich, and well fortified.—I might very much enlarge this catalogue, were it any way necessary. It is sufficient to say, that there is no part of Europe, Piedmont not excepted, where the fortifications are so numerous, and at the same time so strong, as in the Netherlands in general.

A conjecture.

Could we once see the arms of the Queen of Hungary successful against her enemies, we might expect to have her claims, and those of her consort, made good against the French, who have extended their frontiers at the expence of their respective families, and to the diminution of the German Empire. Can it be imagined they would then be left, without interruption, in the continued possession of Alsatia and the Franche Comté, both which they have violently wrested from the house of Austria, and disunited from the Germanic Body? Would Lorraine, above all, that glories in a long succession of her own native Sovereigns, descended from Charlemagne, remain an equivalent to a disappointed foreign Prince, and descend in vassalage to the house of Bourbon? The magnitude and importance of these countries, and their convenient situation for keeping a bridle on France, will appear from a bare inspection of the map, where I have caused them to be distinguished.

It now remains, according to my promise, that I should advance a little to the north, and say a word or two concerning the duchies of Juliers and Berg, and the claims arising upon the death of the late Elector Palatine, of the house of Neuburg. Upon this I shall be very brief, as a particular  
account



account of it, *ex professo*, has been published in a separate volume since I began this work. But the brevity of it will not, I hope, make what I shall say the less satisfactory.

It has been mention'd, that John-William, Duke of Cleves, Juliers and Berg, &c, died in 1609, leaving behind him four sisters, and no issue. The sisters were married to the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Neuburg, the Duke of Deux-ponts, and the Marquis of Burgow. The four husbands all put in their claims; the first, as having married the eldest sister; the second, because the eldest sister died before her brother, and his duchess was the eldest surviving sister: the other two for an equal partition, among the four sisters. An old pretension was also set on foot by the Elector of Saxony, and another by the Duke of Nevers: and the Emperor, lastly, insisted that the countries should be sequester'd in his hands, and sent his son, the Archduke to Leopold, to take possession of them in his name.

As the Spaniards and the Dutch were then at war, they immediately took part in the quarrel; the Dutch for the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Spaniards for the Duke of Neuburg. These two Princes, therefore, were the only claimants that could assert their pretensions by force of arms. The contended dominions were enter'd by two hostile armies, who each seized what they could, without ever coming to a battle. At last, having got the whole succession between them, and precluded all other claims, the two pretenders agreed to sit down with a *uti possidetis*, that is, to keep what they had got. This left to the Elector the duchy of Cleves, and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg, and to the Duke Juliers and Berg, with the small territory of Ravenstein.

Upon the extinction of the Protestant Palatine line, in the person of Charles, brother to the Prince of Orange, the Dutch and Spaniards divided the dominions. The Dutch got the duchy of Cleves, and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg, and the Duke Juliers and Berg, with the small territory of Ravenstein.

Princess Sophia, the Duke of Neuburg, as next of blood, came to the electorate, and united with it his own dominions. He and his two sons reigned successively, not leaving any posterity to succeed them, which occasioned the last to transfer his inheritance to the Prince of Sultzbach, a remote collateral branch of his family, but barely related to him. But whatever claim he might have to the electorate, he could have none, the King of Prussia pretended, to the succession of the Duke of Cleves, not being descended from either of the princesses of that family. Besides, a treaty had been made, and renewed in 1670, by which the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg agreed, that in case of failure of male line in the one, the whole inheritance should descend to the other. This the court of Berlin pleaded, upon notice of the late Elector palatine's disposition in favour of the Prince of Sultzbach; which made it expected, the temper of his present Prussian majesty, and all considered, that the Elector would not die without giving rise to new troubles.

Present  
state of  
that af-  
fair.

That Prince, however, has been for some time dead, and the King of Prussia, instead of disputing any part of the succession with him, has acknowledg'd the new Elector. Whether this acknowledgement be sincere, with regard to Juliers and Berg, or that his majesty apprehends he should not be suffer'd to grow too powerful on this side, or that he only waits for a proper opportunity to make good his pretensions, time alone can determine. In the meanwhile we must allow, that, according to this deduction, that monarch's claim is incontestible, and cannot otherwise be set aside than by reasons of policy among the other potentates.

